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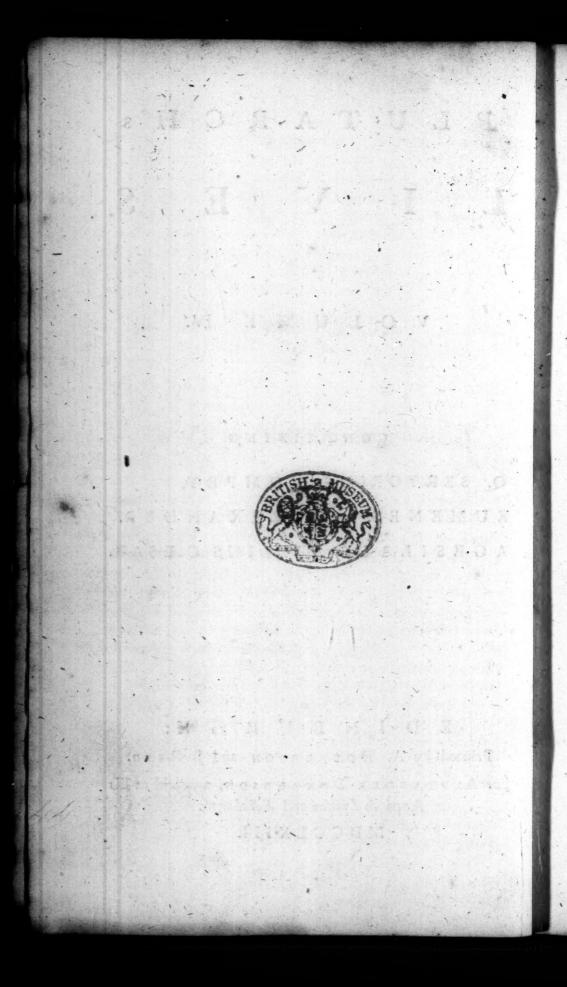
Q. SERTORIUS, POMPEY,
EUMENES, ALE-XANDER,
AGESILAUS, JULIUS CÆSAR.

E D I N B U R G H:

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LIFE

OF

QUINTUS SERTORIUS.

T is no great wonder, if in a long course of ages, as fortune is fo variable and inconftant, occurrences of the fame kind should often be casually produced. For if the number of fubjects to be wrought upon be infinite, fortune being supplied with matter fufficiently copious, may more eafily produce this remarkable likeness in human affairs: or if otherwise all things are composed of a finite and limited number of events, when these have all appeared, the same of necessity must again come to pass. Some persons being delighted with such events as exactly refemble one another, make collections of those occurrences of this kind which they have heard, or read of, and from the refemblance they observe in them, represent them as the works of reason and providence. Thus they observe, that two eminent persons, whose names were Attis *, the one of Syria, the other of Arcadia, were both flain

^{*}In Pausanias's Achaics, we read that a person called Attis, or Attes, the son of Calaus the Phrygian, lying under a natural incapacity of having children, went into Lydia, where he instructed the people in the rites and ceremonies peculiar to the mother of the gods, and that he was so beloved and honoured by that goddess, that Jupiter provoked at it, sent a monstrous boar into Lydia, that ravaged all their fields, slew many of the Lydians, and among them Attis himself; but I am a persect stranger to the history of the second Attis.

by a wild boar; that of two whose names. were Action*, the one was torn in pieces by his dogs, the other by his lovers; that of two Scipios, the one first defeated the Carthaginians, the other afterwards totally ruined and destroyed them; that the city of Troy was the first time taken by Hercules. for the horses promised to be given him by Laomedon, the fecond time by Agamemnon by means of the celebrated wooden horse, and the third time by Charidemus by occasion of a horse falling down at the gate, which hindered the Trojans from shutting it foon enough; and that of two cities which take their names from two odoriferous plants, Jos and Smyrna, the one from a violet, the other from myrrh, the poet Homer is reported to have been born in the one, and to have died in the other. To these remarks we may further add, that some of the most valiant commanders, and who have performed the greatest exploits by stratagems and military skill, have had but one eye; as, Philip, Antigonus, and Hannibal, and Sertorius also, whose life and actions we are now to describe, and of whom we may justly fay that he was more chafte than Philip, more faithful to his friends than Antigonus, and more merciful to his enemies than Hannnibal; in prudence he gave place to none of them; but in fortune he was inferior to them all. But though the was every way more fevere and cruel to him than his declared enemies, yet in military skill and experience he was equal to Metellus; in boldness and resolution, to Pompey; in success, to Sylla; and in power he was a match for the whole Roman empire, though a banished man, and a stranger amongst a barbarous people.

Of all the Grecian commanders, Eumenes of Cardia may be best compared with him; for they

^{*} Action the fon of Aristous, was torn in pieces by his own dogs, as was Action the fon of Melissus by the Bacchiade, as the reader may find in the scholass upon Apollonius, lib. iv.

were both of them great generals, both valiant, and at the same time politic; they were both aliens and strangers, lived at a distance from their native country, and had the command of foreign forces; both had fortune for their adversary, who was so extremely injurious to them in the end, that they both died by the treachery of those by whose affistance they had formerly overcome their enemies.

Quintus Sertorius was of a reputable family, born in the city of Nursia, in the country of the Sabines. His father died when he was young, but he was carefully and decently educated by his mother, whose name was Rhea, and whom he extremely loved and honoured. He exercised himself in oratory and pleading in his youth, which he performed fo well that he acquired a confiderable degree of reputation and power in Rome by his eloquence. But the splendour of his glorious actions in arms induced him to alter his ambition, and to feek for honour wholly in war. At his first entering the field, he served under Cæpio *, when the Cimbri and Teutones invaded Gaul; where, the Romans being worsted and put to stight, he was wounded in many parts of his body, and thrown from his horse; nevertheless he swam across the river Rhone in his armour, with his breast-plate and shield, bearing himself up against the force of the stream; fuch was his strength of body, and power of enduring labour, which he had acquired by long excrcife.

When the Cimbri and Teutones came down a fecond time with a vast army and with dreadful menaces, when it was no small merit in a Roman soldier to keep his rank, and obey his commander, Sertorius undertook to view the enemy's camp. For this purpose having learned the manner of

^{*} This was the proconful Q. Servilius Cæpio, who with the conful Cn. Manlius was overthrown by the Cimbri in the year of Rome 648.

their falutations, and the ordinary expressions of their language, he threw himself in amongst the Barbarians, dressed in a Celtic habit; and having either seen himself, or heard from others, what was most important for him to know, he returned to Marius, general of the Roman army, from whose hands he received the honourable reward of his valour. And afterwards giving frequent demonstrations both of his conduct and courage during the rest of the war, he was advanced to places of honour and trust under his general, who highly

esteemed and confided in him.

After the wars with the Cimbri and Teutones, he was fent into Spain, as military tribune under Didius the Roman general, and wintered in the country of the Celtiberians, in the city of Castulo, where the foldiers enjoying great plenty of all things, grew infolent, being almost continually drunk, so that the inhabitants despised them, and sent for aid by night to the Gyrifænians their near neighbours, who fell upon the Romans in their lodgings, and slew a great number of them. But Sertorius withdrew out. of the city with a few of his foldiers, and rallying the rest who had slipped out, he marched round about the walls, and finding the gate open, by which the Gyrifænians had privately entered, he did not commit the fame fault that they had done; but placing a guard at the gate, and feizing upon all the quarters of the city, he flew all who were of age to bear arms. Then ordering his foldiers to lay afide their weapons, and their own cloaths, and to put on the accoutrements of the Barbarians, he commanded them to follow him to the city, from whence those were fent who fell upon the Romans by night. The Gyrifænians being deceived by the fight of their own armour and equipage, he found the gates of their city open, and took great numbers of them prisoners, who came out, thinking to meet their friends and fellow-citizens returning

from the fuccessful execution of their enterprise. Many also were slain by the Romans at the gates, and the rest within surrendered themselves, and were sold for slaves.

This action made Sertorius to be highly renowned throughout all Spain; and as foon as he returned to Rome, he was appointed quæstor of Gallia Cifalpina. This was very advantageous for the Roman affairs at that time; for as the Marsian war was then breaking out, Sertorius was ordered to raise foldiers, and provide arms, which he performed with fuch diligence and speed, as was very unlike the tedious slothful management of other young men; fo that he acquired the reputation of a man of great spirit and activity in business. Nor did he at all abate of his military boldness and bravery, when he arrived at the dignity of a great commander, but performed wonderful exploits with his own hands; and as he never spared himself, but freely exposed his person, he lost one of his eyes in battle. However he always gloried in this deformity, faying, that others did not continually carry about with them the testimonies of their valour, but often laid afide their chains of gold, their spears, and crowns; whereas his enfigns of honour always remained with him, and those who beheld his misfortune, beheld at the same time a proof of his cou-The people also paid him the respect due to his merit; and when he came into the theatre, they received him with clapping of hands, and loud acclamations; which fort of applause was not easily obtained, even by persons who were more advanced in age, and of greater dignity in the commonwealth.

Notwithstanding this popularity, when he stood for the tribuneship, he was disappointed, being opposed by Sylla's faction; and this seems to have been the principal cause of the irreconcileable hatred he bore to Sylla.

After

After Marius was overcome by Sylla, and had fled into Africa, and Sylla had left Italy to carry on the war against Mithridates, Octavius, one of the consuls, remained in the interest of Sylla; but Cinna the other consul, who affected innovations, attempted to restore the lost interest of Marius. Sertorius adhered to Cinna, perceiving that Octavius was an inactive man, and that he was also suspicious of any one that was a friend to Marius.

When the battle was fought between the two confuls in the forum, Octavius won the victory, and Cinna and Sertorius having lost near ten thoufand men, left the city. But perfuading the foldiers, who were dispersed about in many parts of Italy, to join them, they in a short time collected a

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force sufficient to engage Octavius again.

Marius about this time arrived from Africa, proffered to ferve under Cinna, as a private foldier under his conful and commander. Most of Cinna's friends were for receiving Marius, but Sertorius declared against it, either thinking that his interest with Cinna would be diminished by the prefence of a person of greater authority, or fearing that the violence of Marius would bring all things into confusion, and that if they should gain the victory, his cruel vindictive spirit would transport him beyond all the rules and limits of justice. therefore represented to Cinna, that they might look upon themselves as already victorious, that there remained little to be done, and that if they admitted Marius, he would not only deprive them of the glory and advantage of the war, but would also prove a very uneasy and 'unfaithful' partner in the government. To which Cinna answered, That he judged very rightly, but that he himself was at a loss how to act, being ashamed to reject him, whom he sent for to be partner in all his concerns. To which Sertorius replied, I thought Marius came into Italy of his own accord, and therefore I advised you to what I thought

was most expedient: but you ought not to have even deliberated whether you should admit him or not after you had invited him. You are by so doing under an obligation to receive him, and to accept of his service; for your word

when once given, leaves no room for debate.

Marius being fent for by Cinna, and their forces. divided into three parts, under Cinna, Marius, and Sertorius, the war was carried on fuccefsfully. But Cinna and Marius committed every kind of outrage and violence; fo that the Romans esteemed the evils which they had fuffered during the war to be bleffings when compared with those which they fuffered afterwards. It is faid however, that Sertorius never killed any man to fatisfy his own refentment, nor infulted any one whom he had conquered, but was much offended with the inhumanity of Marius, and would often converse privately with Cinna, and entreat him to mitigate his fury, and to use his power more moderately. At last, when the flaves whom Marius had freed at his landing, to increase his army, and whom he had made not only his fellow-foldiers in the war, but also his guards and the executioners of his tyrannical cruelty, became strong and numerous, and partly by the permission and command of Marius, and partly from their own ungovernable infolence and fury, had proceeded to the most enormous outrages against their masters, killing many of them, ravishing their wives, and abusing their children, their crimes appeared fo intolerable to Sertorius, that he flew them all to the number of four thousand as they lay encamped together.

Afterwards when Marius was dead, and Cinna was flain, and when the younger Marius had ufurped the fupreme authority, and made himself consul against the will of Sertorius, and the laws of Rome; when Carbo, Norbanus, and Scipio, had fought unsuccessfully against Sylla; when much was lost by the cowardiee and remissness of the commanders,

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commanders, and by the treachery of their own party; when their affairs were fo miferably shattered that they could not be supported even by the presence of Sertorius, because those who had the greatest authority were persons of no prudence or conduct; and laftly, when Sylla had placed his camp near to Scipio, and by pretending friendship, and offering him terms of peace, had corrupted his army, which Scipio could not be made fensible of, although often forewarned of it by Sertorius; he then utterly despaired of the prosperity of Rome, and made hafte into Spain; that, by taking poffeffion of it beforehand, he might establish his power in a country, which would be a refuge to his friends, and a support to his declining party. But having bad weather in his journey, and travelling through mountainous countries, where the inhabitants stopped him by the way, and demanded money for his passage, those who were with himwere out of all patience, reprefenting it as an insupportable dishonour for a proconsul of Rome to pay tribute to a crew of wretched Barbarians. But he flighted this feeming difgrace, and told them, be must buy time, the most precious of all things to those who go upon great enterprises. Then pacifying the Barbarians with money, he made all the hafte he could to take possession of Spain. This country was flourishing and populous, and abounded with young men fit to bear arms; but, by reason of the infolence and covetouiness of the commanders fent thither yearly from Rome, the inhabitants were very averie to the Roman government. But he foon gained the affection of the nobility, by converfing familiarly with them, and ingratiated himfelf with the people by remitting their taxes. But that which made him most beloved, was his exempting them from finding lodgings for the foldiers; for he commanded his army to take up their winter-quarters without the cities, and to pitch their their tents in the fields; and he himself, first of all, caused his own pavilion to be raised without the walls. Yet not being willing to rely totally upon the good inclination of the inhabitants, he armed all the Romans who lived in those countries, who were of proper age, and began to build ships, and to make all forts of warlike engines; by which means he kept the cities in due obedience, being affable and courteous in time of peace, and appearing formidable to his enemies by his great pre-

parations for war.

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As foon as he was informed that Sylla had made himself master of Rome, and that the party of Marius and Carbo was utterly destroyed, he expected that fome commander with a confiderable army would fpeedily come against him; he therefore fent away Julius Salinator with fix thousand men, to guard the Pyrenæan mountains. Caius Annius not long after was fent thither by Sylla; and finding that Julius Salinator's camp was impregnable by reason of its fituation, he sat down at the foot of the mountains in great perplexity. But one Calpurnius Lanarius having treacherously slain Julius Salinator, and his forces having quitted the tops of the Pyrenæan mountains, Caius Annius came forward with a great army, and paffing over forced those from their stations who endeavoured to hinder his march. Sertorius not being strong enough to give him battle, retreated with three thousand men into New Carthage, where he embarked, and croffed over to Mauritania in Africa. His men going on shore to water, and straggling about negligently, were attacked by the Africans, who flew a great number of them. I his new misfortune forced him to fail back again into Spain, from whence he was also repulsed; but the Cilician pirates joining with him, they failed to the island of Pityufa, where they landed, and overpowered the garrison placed there by Caius Annius, who also

came thither not long after with a great fleet, and five thousand soldiers. Sertorius prepared to fight him by fea, though his ships were not built for ftrength, but for lightness and swift failing; but a violent west-wind raised such a storm, that many of Sertorius's ships, on account of their lightness, were driven upon the rocky shores, and he himself with a few veffels, being prevented by the storm from putting further out to fea, and hindered from landing by his enemies, was toffed about for ten days together by the boifterous waves, and escaped at last with great difficulty. After the wind ceased, he ran into certain desolate islands scattered about in those seas, affording no water; from whence making out to fea again, he passed the straits. and turning to the right hand he landed a little above the mouth of the river Bætis, where it falls into the Atlantic ocean, and gives the name to all that part of Spain. Here he met with fome feamen. newly arrived from the Atlantic islands. These are two in number, divided from one another only by a narrow channel, and are diftant from the coast of Africa ten thousand furlongs. called The fortunate islands. The rain falls feldom there, and then in moderate showers; but for the most part they have gentle breezes, bringing along with them foft dews, which fo enrich the foil, that it not only is fertile when ploughed and planted, but even produces of itself plenty of delicious fruits sufficient to feed the inhabitants, who may here be supported without trouble or labour. The seasons of the year are temperate, and the alteration from one to the other fo moderate, that the air is always ferene and healthful. The rough northerly and eastern winds, which blow towards these islands from the continent, are diffipated by reason of the vast distance, and utterly lose their force before they reach these parts. The foft western and foutherly winds which breathe upon them, fometimes

times produce mild sprinkling showers; but for the most part they gently refresh the earth only with fruitful dews, and the nourishing moisture of the air. So that it is firmly believed, even by the barbarous people themselves, that this is the feat of the blessed, and that these are the Elysian fields so

highly celebrated by Homer.

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As foor as Sertorius heard this account, he was feized with a wonderful desire to go and live there in peace and repose, far from the noise of war, and free from the troubles of government. But his inclinations being perceived by the Cilician pirates, who love not peace and repose, but desire to rove about in quest of riches and plunder, they immediately forsook him, and sailed away into Africa, to assist Ascalis the son of Iphtha, and to restore

him to his kingdom of Mauritania.

The fudden departure of the Cilicians did not however discourage Sertorius; for he presently refolved to affift the enemies of Ascalis; and by this new adventure he kept his foldiers together, who from hence conceived new hopes of their future prosperity, and began to have a better prospect of their affairs. His arrival in Mauritania being very acceptable to the Moors, he lost no time, but immediately giving battle to Ascalis, beat him out of the field, and befieged him; and Paccianus being fent by Sylla with a powerful fupply to raife the fiege, Sertorius flew him in the field, defeated his army, and then joined it to his own; after which he took the city of Tingis, where Ascalis and his brothers were fled for refuge. The Africans report that Antæus was buried in this city; but Sertorius being unwilling to trust common fame, which represented his body as of a most prodigious length, caused his sepulchre to be opened, and finding, as they fay, that his corpfe was threefcore cubits long, he was ftruck with aftonishment, and immediately offered up facrifice to the gods, and closed the VOL. IV.

tomb again; thus he increased the fame of the sepulchre, and added new honours to the memory of Antæus. The inhabitants of Tingis further allege, that after the death of Antæus, his wife Tinga lived with Hercules, and had a son by him called Sophax, who was king of these countries, and gave his mother's name to this city; and that Sophax had a son called Diodorus, who subdued a great part of Africa with an army of Greeks, which he raised out of the colonies of the Olbianians and Myceneans settled here by Hercules. I mention these passages for the sake of King Juba, the best historian of any king, and whose family is said to be derived from Diodorus and Sophax.

When Sertorius had made himself master of the whole country, he did no injury to those who yielded themselves up to his mercy, but restored to them their estates, their cities, their laws and privileges, accepting only of such acknowledgments as

they themselves freely offered.

Whilst he was considering which way next to turn his arms, the Lusitanians fent ambassadors to defire him to be their general; for being terrified with the Roman power, and finding the necessity of having a commander of great authority and experience, being also sufficiently informed of his character by those who were acquainted with him, they would commit themselves to the care of no one but him. For Sertorius was of a temper not to be furprised with fear, nor to be captivated with pleasure; in adversity and dangers he was undaunted, and in prosperity never elated. Upon a sudden affault or dangerous attempt, no commander in his time was more bold and daring; if any thing was to be performed in war by deceit, circumvention, or surprise, if any strong place was to be seized, or any pass to be gained speedily, he showed great readiness and depth of contrivance. In beflowing rewards and honours upon those who had distinguished distinguished themselves by their valour, he was bountiful and magnificent even to prodigality, but very sparing and backward in punishing offenders, Yet that cruelty which he exercised, in the latter part of his life, upon the Spanish hostages, seems to argue, that his clemency was not natural, but only assumed for the sake of his interest. I think, indeed, that fincere virtue founded on reason, and mature judgment can never be totally perverted or extirpated by any misfortune whatever; but I do not think it impossible that great and undeferved calamities and difgraces may make fome alteration in the best dispositions. And thus I suppose it happened to Sertorius, who being exasperated by ill fortune, and the unhappy state of his affairs, was at last severe to those who had unworthily injured him.

The Lusitanians having fent for Sertorius, he left Africa, and being made general with absolute authority, he immediately formed an army, with which he brought the neighbouring parts of Spain: into subjection; many countries also voluntarily fubmitted themselves, being induced by the same of his clemency, and of his military talents. Upon fome occasions also he invented strange artifices and impostures to please and delude the people; amongst which that of the hind; was certainly none of the least. Spanus, a countryman, who lived in those parts, meeting by chance a hind that had newly calved, flying from the hunters, he let the dam go, and pursuing the fawn took it; being wonderfully pleafed with the peculiarity of the colour, which was perfectly white. Sertorius was then in those parts; and as he received courteously such presents of fruit, fowl, or venison, as the country afforded, and rewarded liberally those who presented them, the countryman brought him his young hind, which he kindly accepted, and was much pleafed with at the first fight; but when in time he B 2 had

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had made it so tame and gentle, that it would come when he called, and follow him wherefoever he went, and could endure the noise and tumult of the camp; knowing well that the Barbarians are naturally prone to superstition, by degrees he deified it, and told the people that it was given him by Diana, and that it discovered to him many secrets *. To this also he added these further contrivances: if he had received at any time private intelligence, that the enemy had made an incursion into those provinces which were under his command, or had folicited any city to revolt, he pretended that the hind had informed him of it in his fleep, and charged him to keep his forces in readiness: or if he had notice that any of the commanders under him had got a victory, he would hide the messengers, and bring forth the hind crowned with flowers, for joy of the good news that was to come, and would encourage his men to rejoice and facrifice to the gods for the good account they should foon receive of their fuccess. By these methods he brought them to be more tractable and obedient in all things; for now they thought themselves no longer to be led by a stranger, but rather by a hero, or a god. And this imagination was confirmed by the increase of his power beyond all human reason or probability: for with two thousand five hundred men, whom he called Romans, joined with feven hundred Africans, who landed with him when he first entered Lusitania, together with four thousand Lusitanian foot, and seven hundred horse, he made war with four Roman generals, who commanded a hundred and twenty thousand foot, fix thousand horse, two thousand archers and slingers,

^{*} We meet with an instance of the same kind in the life of Marius, who but a few year before the time of which Plutarch is now writing, had a Syrian woman with him who passed for a great prophetes, and two tame vultures that were let loose on purpose to follow him.

and innumerable cities: whereas at first he had notabove twenty cities in all. Yet from this weak and flender beginning, he became afterwards fo confiderable, that he took many cities, and fubdued great and powerful countries. Of the Roman commanders who were fent against him, he overthrew Cotta in a fea-fight, in the strait near the city of Mellaria; he routed Phidius chief commander of Hispania Bætica, and slew two thousand Romans near the river Bætis. Domitius and Lucius Manlius proconsul of another province of Spain were overthrown in a fet battle by one of his lieutenants: he flew Thoranius a commander fent against him by Metellus with a great force, and deftroyed his whole army; and Metellus, the greatest general in those times, was often circumvented by him, and reduced to fuch extremities, that Lucius Lollius was obliged to come to his affiftance out of Gallia Narbonensis, and Pompey the Great was fent into Spain in all hafte with another confiderable army. Nor did Metellus know which way to turn himself, having to do with a man of undaunted boldness, who was continually haraffing him, and yet could not be brought to a pitched battle: for, by the swiftness and dexterity of his Spanish foldiery, he was able to change his station, and to east his army into every kind of form. For though Metellus had great experience in conducting heavy-armed legions when drawn up in due order into a flanding phalanx to encounter the enemy hand to hand, and overpower them by force, yet he was not able to climb up fteep hills, and to be continually upon the purfuit of a swift enemy, nor could he like them endure hunger, nor live expofed to the weather without fire or covering. Befides, Metellus being now in years, and having been formerly engaged in many battles and undergone great fatigues, was inclined to lead a more remifs, easy, and voluptuous life. But Sertorius, with B 3 whom

whom he contended, was in the prime of his age; his mind was in its full vigour, and his body wonderfully fitted for war, being strong, nimble, and active; for he was continually accustomed to endure hard labour, to take long journeys, and to pass many nights together without sleep, to eat little, and to be satisfied with very coarse fare. He never was guilty of any excess in drinking, even when he was most at leifure; but what time he had to spare, he spent in hunting, and riding into all parts, whereby he understood the course and fituation of the country, so that when he could not maintain the fight, he knew which way to escape, and where certainly to enfnare and encompass his enemy when he was victorious. Thus Metellus, by not being able to come to an engagement, fuffered all the inconveniencies of a defeat, and Sertorius, though he declined fighting, reaped all the advantages of conquest, for he hindered the Romans from foraging, and cut off their provisions; if they proceeded forward, he stopped their march; if they staid in any place and encamped, he continually molested and alarmed them; if they besieged any town, he presently appeared and befieged them again, by reducing them to the want of necessaries; fo that he wearied out the Roman army, and reduced them to fo low and despairing a condition, that when Sertorius challenged Metellus to fight fingly with him, they commended him, and cried out, It was fit that a Roman should fight against a Roman, and a general against a general; and when Metellus refused the challenge, they reproached and ridiculed him. But Metellus justly derided and contemned their censures; for, as Theophrastus observes, a general should die like a general, and not like a common soldier.

Metellus perceiving that the city of the Lagobrites, which gave great affiftance to Sertorius, might easily be taken for want of water, (for there being

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but one well within the wall, whoever befieged the place might make himself master of the springs and fountains in the fuburbs), hoped to force the town. in two days time, and commanded his foldiers totake only five days provisions. But Sertorius refolving to fend fpeedy relief, ordered two thousand veffels to be filled with water, and offered a large reward for the carriage of every vessel. Many. Spaniards and Moors undertook the work; and chusing out those who were strongest and swiftest of foot, he fent them through the mountains, with. orders, that when they had delivered the water, they should convey away privately all those who would be least serviceable in the siege, that there might be water fufficient for those who were employed in the defence of the place. As foon as Me ellus understood this, he was greatly disturbed, most part of the necessary provisions for his army being already confumed; he therefore fent out Aquilius with fix thousand foldiers to fetch in fresh supplies; but Sertorius having notice of it, laid an ambush for him, and having fent out beforehand three thousand men, whom he placed within a shady valley, in a channel which had been made hollow by the rapid fall of water from the hills, they fell upon the rear of Aquilius in his return, while Sertorius charging him in front, destroyed part of his army, and took the rest prisoners. Aquilius escaped, after he had been thrown from his horse, and lost his arms; and Metellus being forced shamefully to raise the siege, exposed himself to the laughter and contempt of the Spaniards, while Sertorius became the object of their esteem and admiration. He was also highly honoured for altering their furious savage manner of fighting, bringing them to make use of the Roman armour, and teaching them to keep their ranks, and follow their enfigns; for thus out of a confused number of thieves and robbers, he constituted a regular well-disciplined army. He

likewise bestowed filver and gold upon them liberally, to gild and adorn their helmets; he caused their shields to be wrought, and engraved with various figures and defigns; he brought them into the mode of wearing flowered and embroidered cloaths; and by furnishing them with money for these purposes, and by joining with them in the fame emulation, he won their affections, and led them whither he pleased. But that which delighted them most, was the care he took of their children, when he fent for all the noblemens fons in those parts, and placed them in Osca, a very confiderable city, where he appointed masters to inftruct them in the Grecian and Roman learning, that when they came to be men they might be fitted to fhare with him in authority, and in the government of the commonwealth; although, under this pretence of their better education, he really made them hostages. However their fathers were wonderfully pleased to see that their children went daily, to the schools in good order, handsomely dreffed in garments edged with purple, and that Sertorius paid a falary for their learning, examined them often, distributed rewards to the most deserving, and gave them those ornaments of gold to hange about their necks which the Romans call bulla.

It was at that time a custom in Spain, that when a great commander was slain in battle, those who attended his person fought it out till they all died with him, which the inhabitants of those countries called an offering, or libation *. The other commanders had but a small number of attendants of this sort; but Sertorius had many thousands who

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^{*} The same custom prevailed in Gaul, where a number of men called Soldurii, devoted themselves to a prince or some other great man, to share with him in his fortune, both good and bad, and either to sall with him in battle, or kill themselves in case he was descated; which was a point of honour wherein none of them were ever known to fail. Cas. de bell. Gall. lib. 3. This custom has likewise been practised in other countries.

offered up themselves, and vowed to sacrifice their lives with his. And it is reported, that when his army was defeated near a city in Spain, and the enemy pressed hard upon them, the Spaniards took no care for themselves, but being totally solicitous to save Sertorius, they took him upon their shoulders, and passed him from one to another, till they had conveyed him into the city; and when they had thus placed their general in safety, every one provi-

ded afterwards for his own fecurity.

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Nor were the Spaniards alone ambitious to ferve him, but the Roman foldiers also that came out of Italy were impatient to be under his command. For when Perpenna Vento, who was of the fame faction with Sertorius, came into Spain with great riches, and a powerful army, and defigned to make war against Metellus by himself, his own foldiers opposed it, and discoursed continually of the great fame and merit of Sertorius. This was no small mortification to Perpenna, who was proud of his family and his riches. And when they afterwards understood that Pompey had passed the Pyrænean mountains, they took up their arms, laid hold on their enfigns, called upon Perpenna to lead them to Sertorius, and threatened him, that if he refused it, they would go and place themselves under a commander who was able to defend himself and those, that ferved him. This forced Perpenna to yield. to their defires, and immediately joining with Sertorius, he added to his army fifty-three cohorts. When all the cities on this fide of the river Iberus also united their forces together under his command, his army grew very numerous; for they flocked to him from all quarters. But as they were. a rash disorderly multitude, and continually called. upon him to charge the enemy, being impatient of delay, this gave great uneafiness to Sertorius, who at first strove to restrain them by reason and perfuafion; but when he perceived them refractory and.

and unfeafonably violent, he gave way to their impetuous defires, and permitted them to engage with the enemy, in fuch a manner, that being repulfed, yet not totally routed, he hoped they would become more obedient to his commands for the future; which happening as he conjectured, he foon refcued them, and brought them fafe into his camp. After a few days being willing to encourage them again, when he had called all his army together, he caufed two horses to be brought into the field, the one old, feeble, and lean, the other large and frong, with a very fair, thick, long tail. Near to the lear horse he placed a tall strong man, and near to the strong one a little man of a despicable appearance. At a fignal given, the strong man took hold of the weak horse's tail with both his hands, and drew it to him with his whole force, as if he would pull it off at once; the other man in the mean time began to pluck off hair by hair the great horse's tail. When the ftrong man had laboured much in vain, and made himself the jest of all the spectators, he gave over; but the weak little man in a fhort time, and with great eafe, pulled off every hair from the great horse's tail. Then Sertorius rose up, and spoke to his army after this manner: You fee, fellow-foldiers, that perseverance is more efficacious than force. Many things which cannot be overcome when they are together, are subdued by degrees when they are separated. Assiduity is resistless, and in time overthrows and destroys the greatest powers whatever; time being the friend and affiftant of those who have judgment to wait for the opportunities he affords, and the destructive enemy of such as are unseasonably urging and pressing forward. By fuch inventions and difcourses, wherewith he frequently entertained them, he restrained the temerity of the Barbarians, and taught them to wait for the best opportunities of fighting.

But of all his remarkable exploits and stratagems.

in war, none raised greater admiration, than that which he put in practice against the Charicitani, a people living beyond the river Tagus, who inhabited neither cities nor towns, but dwelt on a vast high hill, in the deep dens and caves of the rocks. the mouths of which open all towards the north. The country below is a clayish chalky soil; and being also light and porous, it is apt to be crumbled and broken into powder, and is not firm enough to bear any one that treads upon it; and if touched in the least, it flies about like ashes, or unslaked lime. In any danger of war, these people descend into their caves, and carrying in their booty along with them, are free from all fear, and think themselves invincible. And when Sertorius, being at fome distance from Metellus, had placed his camp near this hill, they treated him with contempt and infult, imagining that he retired into those parts, being overthrown by the Romans. Sertorius, either refenting this affront, or being unwilling to be thought. to fly from his enemies, rode thither early in the morning to view the fituation of the place; but finding there was no way to come at it, as he rode about threatening them in vain, he took notice that the wind raifed the dust, and carried it up towards the caves of the Charicitani, the mouths of which, as we faid before, opened towards the north. The north wind which some call Cacias, prevails most in those parts, and is engendered out of the moift and marshy plains and the mountains covered with fnow; and in the heat of fummer, being fupplied and increased by the melting of the ice on the peaks of the northern hills, it blows a delightful fresh gale, which recreates the Charicitani, and refreshes their cattle all the day long. Sertorius confidering well all circumstances, wherein either the information of the inhabitants, or his own obfervation had instructed him, commanded his foldiers to shovel up a great quantity of this light dusty

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earth, to heap it up together, and make a mount of it overagainst the hill wherein these barbarous people refided; who imagining that all this preparation was for the raising of a fort in order to attack them, laughed at it at first as a ridiculous impracticable defign; however he continued the work till the evening, and then brought his foldiers back into their camp. The next morning, when a gentle breeze arose, and moved the lightest parts of the earth, and dispersed it about like smoke, and when the fun coming to be higher, the bluftering northerly wind had covered the hills with the dust, some of the foldiers turned this new mount of earth over and over, and broke the clods of clay in pieces, whilst others on horseback rode through it backward and forward, and raifed a cloud of duft, which being committed to the wind, was blown into the dwellings of the Charicitani, the entrances into which were all towards the north; and there being no other vent or passage, than that through which the wind rushed in upon them, it quickly blinded their eyes, and filled their lungs, and caufed a difficulty of breathing, as they could draw in nothing but a fuffocating air mingled with ftreams of dust; so that after they had with great difficulty held out two days, they furrendered on the third. This fuccess added not so much to the power of Sertorius, as it increased his glory, in letting the world fee that he was able to conquer those places by art, which were impregnable by arms.

He was generally successful during the whole war against Metellus, who, by reason of his age and his slow temper, was not able to resist the activity and bravery of Sertorius, who commanded a light army, more like a band of robbers, than a body of regular soldiers. But when Pompey also had passed over the Pyrenæan mountains, and Sertorius had pitched his camp overagainst him, where both of them gave the utmost proofs of their bravery, and of

of their skill, both in contriving stratagems and defeating those of the enemy, and when it was found-Sertorius had the advantage, he was highly celebrated even in Rome itself, as the most able commander of his time. For Pompey's reputation was then at the highest, after his remarkable exploits under Sylla, which had induced that general to confer on him the furname of Great, and had procured him the honour of a triumph even before his beard was grown. And this it was which made many of the cities which were then under the power of Sertorius to cast their eyes on Pompey, and inclined them to open their gates to him. But they were deterred from it by that fuccess which Sertorius obtained near the city of Lauron, contrary to the expectation of all. For as foon as Sertorius had laid fiege to Lauron, Pompey came with his whole army to relieve it; and there being a hill near the city very advantageously situated, they both made haste to feize upon it. But Sertorius got possession of it first; and Pompey having drawn down his forces, was not forry that it had thus fucceeded; for he imagined that he had hereby inclosed his enemy between his own army and the city, and fent in a mefsenger to the citizens of Lauron, to bid them be of good courage, and to come upon their walls, where they might see Sertorius himself besieged. Sertorius perceiving their intentions, laughed and faid, He would now teach Sylla's scholar, (for so he called Pompey in derision), that it was the part of a general to look behind him rather than before him; and at the same time he gave the besieged an opportunity of seeing fix thousand soldiers which he had left in his former camp, from whence he marched out to take the hill; fo that if Pompey should assault him, they were ready to fall upon his rear. Pompey discowered this too late, and not daring to give battle for fear of being encompassed in on every side, and yet being ashamed to leave his friends and confederates VOL. IV. in

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in fuch extreme danger, was forced to fit still and fee them ruined before his face: for the besieged despairing of relief, delivered up themselves to Sertorius, who spared their lives, and granted them their liberties, but burnt their city; which he did not out of anger or cruelty, (for of all commanders that ever were, Sertorius seems the least to have indulged these passions), but only that he might humble and mortify the admirers of Pompey, and that it might be reported among the Spaniards, that though he was so near as almost to feel the heat of the fire which burnt down the city of his confederates, he did not dare to relieve them.

Sertorius fustained some losses in these wars, but he was always invincible himself, and it was by other commanders under him that he fuffered; and he was more admired for being able to repair his loffes, than the Roman generals were for gaining those advantages against him. Thus it happened at the battle of Sucro against Pompey, and at the battle near Turia, against him and Metellus together. It is reported, that the battle near the city of Sucro was occasioned by the impatience of Pompey, who was afraid left Metellus should share with him in the victory, and by the willingness of Sertorius to fight with him before the arrival of Metellus. However, Sertorius delayed the battle till the evening, confidering that the darkness of the night would be a great disadvantage to his enemies either in flight or purfuit, as they were frangers, and had no knowledge of the country. When the fight began, it happened that Sertorius was not placed directly against Pompey, but against Afranius, who commanded the left wing of the Roman army, as he commanded the right wing of his own. But when he understood that his left wing began to give way to the furious affaults of Pompey, he committed the care of his right wing to other commanders, and made hafte to relieve those in distress; and rallying

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lying some that were flying, and encouraging others that still kept their ranks, he renewed the fight, routed the enemy, and brought Pompey into great danger of his life, who being wounded and thrown from his horse, very narrowly escaped; for the Africans who were with Sertorius, having taken Pompey's horse, adorned with gold, and covered with rich trappings, quarrelled about dividing of the spoil, and gave over the pursuit. Afranius in the mean time, as foon as Sertorius had left his right wing to affift the other part of his army, overthrew all that opposed him, and purfued them to their camp, fell in with them, and plundered them till it was quite dark, knowing nothing of Pompey's overthrow, nor being able to reffrain his foldiers from pillaging. In the mean time Sertorius returning with victory, fell upon the forces of Afranius, which were in diforder, and flew great numbers of them. The next morning he came into the field again well armed, and offered battle; but perceiving that Metellus was near, he drew off, and decamped, saying, If that old woman had not been here, I would have whipped the boy foundly and fent him back to Rome.

He was at this time much concerned for the loss of his hind, which could no where be found; for thereby he was destitute of an admirable contrivance to encourage the Barbarians, and that at a time when he most stood in need of it. But some of his men as they were wandering in the night chanced to meet her; and knowing her by her colour, they immediately carried her to Sertorius. He having thus recovered her, promised them that found her a generous reward provided they would not tell of it, and concealed her very carefully. A few days after he appeared in public with a very cheerful look, and declared to the chief commanders of the Barbarians, that the gods had foretold him in a dream, that some remarkable good fortune

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should suddenly attend him; and whilst he wasfeated on his tribunal to answer the petitions of those who applied to him, the keepers of the hind let her loofe, and she no sooner espied Sertorius, but she ran bounding towards him with great joy, leaped on the tribunal, laid her head on his lap. and licked his hands with her accustomed familiarity. Sertorius in return stroked and caressed her with all the tokens of a real tenderness and affection, infomuch that he wept for joy. All the spectators were immediately filled with astonishment, and afterwards accompanied him to his house with clapping of hands and loud fhouts of joy, confidering him as above the rank of common men, and as a person highly favoured of the gods; which belief confirmed their courage, and gave them great hopes of fuccess in their future under-

takings.

When he had reduced his enemies to the last extremity for want of provisions, he was forced to give them battle in the plains near Saguntum, to hinder them from foraging and plundering the country. Both parties fought with the utmost bravery, and Memmius, the greatest commanders in Pompey's army, was flain in the heat of the battle; but Sertorius overthrew all before him, and with great flaughter of his enemies preffed forward towards Metellus. He making a brave refistance, beyond what could be expected from one of his years, was wounded with a lance. All the Romans who faw or heard of this were feized with shame at the thought of having thus abandoned their general, but at the same time were inspired with fury against their enemies; so that having covered Metellus with their shields, and brought him off in fafety, they valiantly repulsed the Spaniards. Thus victory changed fides, and Sertorius, that he might afford a more fecure retreat to his army, and that more forces might be raifed with greater eaferetired

retired into a strong city in the mountains; and though it was the least of his intention to sustain a fiege, yet he began to repair the walls, and to fortify the gates. By this he deluded his enemies, who came and fat down before the town, hoping to take it without much resistance, and gave over the purfuit of the Spaniards, affording them an opportunity to gather together again, and to raife new forces for Sertorius, who had fent commanders to all their cities, with orders when they had fufficiently increased their numbers, to send him word of it. This news he no fooner received, but he fallied out, and forced his way through his enemies, and eafily joined the rest of his army. Having received this confiderable reinforcement, he fell upon the Romans again, and by fiercely affaulting them, by alarming them on all fides, by enfnaring, encompassing, and laying ambushes for them, he cut off all their provisions by land, while with his ships of war and piratical vessels he kept all the coast in awe, and hindered their recruits by fea. By this conduct he forced the Roman generals to diflodge, and to separate from one another. Metellus departed into Gaul, and Pompey wintered among the Vaccæans in a wretched condition. Being in extreme want of money, he wrote a letter to the fenate, to inform them that if they did not speedily fupply him, he must draw off his army; for he had already spent his own estate in the defence of his country. To these extremities the greatest and most powerful commanders of the age were reduced by the skill and valour of Sertorius; and it was the common opinion in Rome, that he would be fooner in Italy than Pompey. How far Metellus was terrified by him, and at how high a rate he esteemed him, he plainly declared, when he offered by proclamation to any Roman that should kill him an hundred talents and twenty thousand acres of land, and leave, if he were banished, to return Cc3 attempting attempting to destroy him by treachery, when he despaired of ever being able to overcome him in open war. And when afterwards he gained fome advantage in a fight against Sertorius, he was so wonderfu'ly pleased and transported with his good fortune, that he caused himself to be styled Imperator, and fuffered all the cities through which he. paffed to honour him with altars and facrifices; where indulging himself in splendid entertainments, he would fit drinking in his triumphal robes, with garlands upon his head, while images of victory were introduced by the motion of machines, bringing in with them crowns and trophies of gold to present to him, and companies of young men and women danced before him, and complimented him with fongs of joy and triumph. But he rendered himself deservedly ridiculous by being so excessively elated with the thoughts of pursuing one that retired of his own accord, and for having once got the better of him, whom he used to call Sylla's fugitive, and his forces the remainder of the scattered troops of Carbo.

The generofity of Sertorius fignally appeared when he appointed a fenate, and called together all the Roman fenators who fled from Rome, and came and refided with him. Out of these he chose prætors and quæftors, and fettled his government according to the Roman laws and constitutions. And though he made use of the arms, riches, and cities of the Spaniards, yet he would never permit them fo much as to mention any thing of government, but fet Roman officers and commanders over them, whereby he showed that his defign was to restore liberty to the Romans, and not to increase the power of the Spaniards against them. For he was a fincere lover of his country, and had a great desire to return home; but in his adverse fortune he showed an undaunted courage, and never made any mean submissions to his enemies; and when he was in prosperity, and in the height of his victories, he fent word to Metellus and Pompey, that he was ready to lay down his arms, and live a private life, if he were allowed to return home, declaring, that he had rather be the meanest citizen in Rome, than supreme commander of the whole world in any place besides. It is thought that his great defire to revisit his country was not a little increased by the respect which he had for his mother, by whom he was brought up in his tender years, after the death of his father, and upon whom he had placed his entire affection: and after his friends had fent for him into Spain to be their general, as foon as he heard of his mother's death, he almost destroyed himself with grief; for he lay seven days together without giving the word to the foldiers, or being feen by the nearest of his friends. And when the chief commanders of the army and persons of the greatest note came about his tent, they with great difficulty prevailed with him at last to come abroad and speak to his soldiers, and to take upon him the management of affairs, which were in a prosperous condition. By all this it appears that he was of a mild and compassionate temper, and naturally inclined to ease and repose, and that he accepted of the command of an army contrary to his own difposition; for not being able to live in safety, he was forced by his enemies to take arms, and to have recourse to war for the necessary defence of his person.

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His treaty with Mithridates is a strong proof of his magnanimity. That prince, after he had been overthrown by Sylla, had recovered himself, and like a vigorous wrestler desirous to try another fall, was again endeavouring to re-establish his power in Asia. At this time the great same of Sertorius was frequently celebrated in all places; and the merchants who sailed from the western parts of Europe to Asia, entertained the Asiatics and the inhabitants.

of Pontus with accounts of Sertorius's exploits, as with a kind of-foreign merchandife which they imported. Mithridates was earnestly desirous to fend an embaffy to him, being also highly encouraged to it by his boafting flatterers, who comparing Mithridates to Pyrrhus, and Sertorius to Hannibal. perfuaded him that the Romans would never be able to make any confiderable refistance against such a genius and fuch great power, when they should be attacked at once by the ablest general and the greatest king in the universe. Mithridates therefore fent his ambaffadors into Spain, with letters to Sertorius, in which he offered to support him with money and ships to enable him to continue the war. provided Sertorius would fecure to him the poffeffion of all he had furrendered to the Romans in his

treaty with Sylla.

As foon as these ambassadors were arrived, Sertorius affembled his council, which he had named the senate. The rest entirely approved of the conditions, and were defirous immediately to accept of the offer, as Mithridates defired nothing of them but a name, and an empty title to places not in their power to dispose of, in recompense of which he would fupply them with what they then most wanted. But Sertorius would by no means agree to it, declaring, that as he was willing that Mithridates should reign over Bithynia and Cappadocia, countries accustomed to a monarchical government, and not belonging to Rome, fo he could never confent that he should seize or detain a province, which the Romans having first possessed by a just title were deprived of by him, and which he afterwards lost in war to Fimbria, and at last had quitted upon a treaty of peace with Sylla: For, faid he, it is my duty to enlarge the Roman dominions by my victories, and not to increase my own power, by the diminution of the Roman territories: for a generous many though he willingly accepts of victory, when it comes ascompanied

companied with honour, yet will not even defend himself, or save his own life, upon terms that are dishonourable.

When this was related to Mithridates, he was ftruck with admiration, and faid to his intimate friends, What will Sertorius injoin us to do, when he comes to be feated in the fenate-house in Rome, who at present, when he is driven out as far as the Atlantic ocean, sets bounds to our kingdom, and threatens us with war, if we attempt the recovery of Asia? However, they came to this agreement, which was ratified by oath, that Mithridates should enjoy the free possession of Cappadocia and Bithynia, that Sertorius should fend him foldiers, and a general for his army, and that the king in return should supply him with three thousand talents, and forty ships. Marcus Marius a Roman fenator, who had quitted Rome to follow Sertorius, was fent general into Afia, by whose conduct when Mithridates had reduced divers of the Afiatic cities, Marius made his entrance with the rods and axes carried before him, and Mithridates followed in the fecond place, voluntarily waiting upon him. However, some of these cities he fet at liberty, and others he freed from taxes, fignifying to them, that these privileges were granted to them by the favour of Sertorius. By this means Asia, which had been miserably tormented by the infatiableness of the publicans, and oppressed by the infolent pride and covetousness of the foldiers, was inspired with new hopes, and wished for that change of government which they expected from Sertorius.

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But in Spain the fenators and others of the nobility, who were about Sertorius, and equal to him in rank and dignity, had no fooner conceived hopes of being able to make head against their enemies, and got the better of their fears, but envy immediately and senseles jealousies instanted their minds against Sertorius. These were headed by Perpenna, who being insolently vain of his noble birth,

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was ambitious of the supreme command. He began with uttering feditious discourses in private amongst his intimate friends. What evil genius, faid he, hurries us perpetually from worse to worse? We who disdained, when we were at home, to obey the dictates of Sylla, who has the dominion both of sea and land, are come hither to our destruction, hoping to enjoy liberty, where we have made our selves voluntary slaves, and are become the contemptible guards and attendants of the banished Sertorius; he gives us a name that renders us ridiculous to all that hear it, calling us the senate, though we undergo the same labour, are subject to the same commands, and exposed to the same insolence with the Spamiards and Lustanians. By these discourses he continually feduced them; and many who could not be brought to rebel openly against Sertorius, fearing his great power and authority, were prevailed on to endeavour to destroy his interest secretly. For by abusing the Lusitanians and Spaniards, by inflicting fevere punishments upon them, by raising exorbitant taxes, and by pretending that all this was done by the command of Sertorius, they caufed great troubles, and made many cities revolt: and those who were sent to mitigate and heal these differences, rather exasperated them, increased the number of his enemies, and left them at their return more obstinate and rebellious than they found This fo highly incenfed Sertorius, and caufed fo great an alteration in his former clemency and humanity, that he behaved with great injustice: and cruelty towards the fons of the Spaniards who were educated at Ofca, putting fome of them to death, and felling others.

In the mean time Perpenna having increased the number of his conspirators, drew in Manlius as chief commander in the army. This Manlius was at that time in love with a boy, and as a proof of his affection discovered the whole conspiracy to him, and pressed him to neglect his rivals, and re-

ferve himself wholly for him, who was to be a great man very soon. The youth having a greater inclination for Aufidius, disclosed all to him, which much furprifed and amazed him; for he was also one of the confederacy, but knew not that Manlius was engaged in it; but when the youth began to name Perpenna, Gracinus, and others, who he knew very well were conspirators, he was very much terrified and aftonished, but made light of it to the youth, bidding him not regard what Manlius faid, who was a vain boafting fellow. However he went presently to Perpenna, and giving him notice of the danger they were in, and of the shortness of their time, defired him immediately to put their defigns in execution. When all the confederates had confented to it, they provided a meffenger who brought feigned letters to Sertorius, in which he had notice of a victory obtained by one of his lieutenants, and of a great flaughter made of his enemies; and as Sertorius, being extremely well pleased, was facrificing and giving thanks to the gods for his prosperous success, Perpenna invited him and those with him (who were all conspirators) to an entertainment, and being very importunate, prevailed with him to come. At all suppers and entertainments where Sertorius was present, great order and decency was observed; for he would not endure to hear or fee any thing that was indecent, so that their freedom and mirth was always modest and inoffensive. But in the midst of this entertainment, those who fought occasion to quarrel, fell into very dissolute discourse, and pretending to be very drunk, behaved in a very infolent manner, on purpose to provoke him. Sertorius being either offended with their ill behaviour, or fuspecting their design from this unusual disrespect, and from their manner of speaking which was not impetuous enough for men really drunk, changed his posture, and threw himself backward on his couch,

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them. Then Perpenna took a cup full of wine, and as he was drinking, let it fall out of his hand, and made a noise, which was the sign agreed on among them. Upon this Antonius, who was next to Sertorius, immediately wounded him with his sword; and whilst Sertorius turned and strove to get up, Antonius threw himself upon his breast, and held both his hands; so that, without being in the least able to defend himself, he lay exposed to the fury of the rest of the conspirators, who fell

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upon him and dispatched him.

Upon the first news of his death, most of the Spaniards left the conspirators, and sending ambasfadors to Pompey and Metellus, yielded themselves up to them. Perpenna attempted to do fomething with those that remained; but he made so ill use of Sertorius's arms and preparations for war, that he foon made it evident to all, that he understood no more how to command, than he knew how to obey. When he came against Pompey he was soon overthrown, and taken prisoner: neither did he bear this last affliction with any dignity; for having Sertorius's papers in his hands, he offered to show Pompey letters from persons of consular dignity, and of the highest quality in Rome, written with their own hands, expressly to invite Sertorius into Italy, and to let him know what great numbers there were that earnestly defired to alter the present state of affairs, and to make a change in the government. Upon this occasion Pompey behaved not like a young man, but as one of a mature and folid judgment; whereby he freed Rome from great fears, and prevented dangerous innovations; for he put all Sertorius's papers together, and burnt them without reading one of them, or fuffering them to be read by any other person; and caused Perpenna immediately to be put to death, left by discovering vering the names of the writers further troubles

and revolutions might enfue.

Of the rest of the conspirators, some were taken and flain by the command of Pompey; others fled into Africa, and were attacked by the Moors, who flew them with their darts; and in a short time not one of them was left alive, except only Aufidius, the rival of Manlius, who hiding himfelf, or not being much inquired after, died an old man, in an obscure village in Spain, in extreme poverty, and univerfally hated.

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EUMENES

Uris reports that Eumenes the Cardian was the fon of a poor waggoner in the Thracian Cherfonefus, but liberally educated *, both as to learning and exercises. He fays, that while he was but young, Philip passing through Cardia, diverted himself with seeing the exercises of the youth of that place, and that as Eumenes diftinguished himfelf among them by his address and activity, Philip was fo pleased with him, as to take him into his fervice. But they feem to fpeak more probably, who tell us, that Philip advanced Eumenes for the friendship he bore to his father, whose guest he had After the death of Philip, he conformerly been. tinued in the fervice of Alexander, with the title of his principal fecretary, but was as highly respected by him as any of his most intimate friends, being efteemed inferiour to none in understanding or fidelity; fo that he was intrusted with the command of a confiderable body of troops in the expedition against India, and fucceeded to the post of Perdiccas, when Perdiccas was advanced to that of Hephæstion then newly deceased. Wherefore after the death of Alexander, when Neoptolemus,

^{*} There were public schools in all their towns and cities, whither shillren of all conditions had a privilege of going.

who had been captain of his guard, faid, That himfelf had followed Alexander with shield and spear, but Eumenes only with pen and paper, the Macedonians laughed at him, as knowing very well, that, befide other particular marks of favour, the king had done him the honour to make him a kinfman to himself by marriage. For Alexander's first mistress in Asia, by whom he had his fon Hercules, was Barfine the daughter of Artabazus; and in the diftribution of the Persian ladies amongst his captains *, he gave one of her fifters named Apame to Ptolemy, and the other, who was likewife called Barsine, to Eumenes. Notwithstanding this he frequently incurred Alexander's displeasure, particularly once by means of Hephæstion. For He. phæstion having assigned to Euius a musician the quarters which the servants of Eumenes had before taken for their mafter, Eumenes in a rage went' with Mentor + to Alexander, and upbraided him aloud, telling him, That the way to be regarded was to throw away their arms, and turn musicians or tragedians. Alexander at first took their part, and chid Hephæstion. But soon after he changed his mind. and was angry with Eumenes, thinking that the freedom he had taken was rather intended as an affront to him, than a complaint against Hephæstion. Afterwards, when Nearchus was to be fent with a fleet into the ocean, Alexander borrowed money of his friends (his own treasury being exhausted), and asked three hundred talents of F, umenes; but he fent a hundred only, pretending that it was not without great difficulty he had raifed fo

† Mentor was the brother of Memnon, whose widow Barfine was

Alexander's miftress,

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^{*} After Alexander had espoused Statira the eldest daughter of Darius, and bestowed the youngest named Drypetis on Hephæstion, the better to conceal the scandal of these nuptials with Barbarians, he persuaded his principal officers and chief favourites to do the same thing, chusing for them eighty virgins out of the most honourable families in Persia. Quint. Curt. lib. x.

much. Alexander neither complained, nor took the money; but gave private orders to fet the tent of Eumenes on fire, that he might have an evident proof of the falsehood of what he had told him, when his money was carried out. But before that could be done, the tent was confumed; and Alexander repented of his orders when it was too late; for all his papers which Eumenes had in his custody, were burnt on that occasion. The gold and filver which was melted down in the fire, was found to be more than a thousand talents. Alexander however took none of it; but he wrote to the several Persian princes and governours, and to his own generals and lieutenants, bidding them send new copies of the papers that were burnt, and or-

dered them to be delivered to Eumenes.

Some time after, another dispute happened between him and Hephæstion, concerning some prefent that had been made to one of them; and a great deal of reproachful language passed on the occafion. Notwithstanding this Eumenes still continued in favour, till the death of Hephæstion, which happened foon after. The king being extremely grieved, and prefuming that all those who had differed with him in his lifetime, now rejoiced at his death, behaved with great feverity towards them, especially towards Eunienes, whom he often upbraided with the quarrels which he had had with Hephæstion, and the reproaches he had uttered against him. But he being a man of great art and address, endeavoured to make that which had caufed his difgrace turn to his advantage, by zealoufly feconding the extreme defire which Alexander expressed to honour the memory of his friend, fuggesting divers inventions to do him honour, and contributing very largely and readily towards erecting a monument for him. After Alexander's death, a dispute happening between the phalanx and his more intimate friends, Eumenes, though in his judg ment 1

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judgment he inclined to the latter, yet in his words and actions stood neuter, as if he thought it unbecoming him, who was a stranger, to interpose in the quarrels of the Macedonians. And when the rest of Alexander's friends left Babylon, he staid behind, and in a great measure pacified the foldiers, and disposed them towards an accommodation. When the officers had agreed among themselves, and quelled the mutiny of the soldiers, they shared the feveral provinces and governments among them; Eumenes was made governour of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, and all the coast upon the Pontic sea as far as Trapezus, which at that time was not subject to the Macedonians, (for Ariarathes was king of it), but Leonatus and Antigo. nus, with a great army, were to put him in pofferfion of it. Antigonus, who was now grown haughty, and looked on all other men with contempt. took no notice of Perdiccas's letters; but Leonatus with his army came down into Phrygia for the fervice of Eumenes. However, being vifited by Hecatæus the tyrant of the Cardians, and requested rather to relieve Antipater and the Macedonians that were befieged in Lamia, he refolved upon that expedition, inviting Eumenes to a share in it, and endeavouring to reconcile him to Hecatæus; for there was an hereditary feud between them upon some political account; and Eumenes had often declared openly, that Hecatæus was a tyrant, and had exhorted Alexander to restore the Cardians to their liberty. Wherefore at this time also he declined the expedition proposed, pretending that he feared lest Antipater, who already hated him, should, for that reason, and to gratify Hecatæus, kill him. Leonatus fo far believed it as to impart to Eumenes his whole defign, which, as he publicly gave out, was to aid Antipater, but it was in truth to seize the kingdom of Macedon; and he showed him letters from Cleopatra, wherein the invited him to Pella, D 3

and promised to marry him. But Eumenes, whether he feared Antipater, or whether he despaired of receiving any fervice from Leonatus, whom he looked upon as a rash, violent, and unsteady man, stole away from him by night with his whole equipage, which confifted of three hundred horse, and two hundred of his domestics well armed, and with all his treasure, which amounted to five thousand talents, and fled to Perdiccas, to whom he difcovered Leonatus's defign, and thereby gained great interest with him, and was made one of his council. Soon after, Perdiccas in person, at the head of a powerful army, conducted Eumenes into Cappadocia, and having taken Ariarathes prisoner, and fundued the whole country, declared him governour of it. Eumenes immediately disposed of the chief cities to his own friends, and appointed fuch persons as he himself approved, captains of garrisons, judges, and receivers of the revenues, Perdiccas not at all interposing. After this, he departed with Perdiccas, being defirous to show his respect to him, and not thinking it confiftent with his interest to be absent from court. But Perdiccas imagining that he should be able of himself to effect what he had been contriving, and confidering that the provinces he left behind might stand in need of an active and faithful governour, dismissed Eumenes when he came into Cilicia, under colour of fending him to his own government, but, in truth, to fecure Armenia, which was bordering upon it, and was unfettled through the practices of Neoptolemus. This Neoptolemus was an extremely vain and arrogant man. Eumenes endeavoured to refrain him by perfuafion and argument; and perceiving that the Macedonian phalanx were become very infolent and ungovernable, he contrived to raife a body of horfe that might be able to keep them in awe. To this end he granted all manner of immunities, and exemption from taxes, to as

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many of the people of the country as understood horsemanship. He likewise bought up a great number of horses, which he gave among such of his own men as he most consided in, inflaming the courage of his soldiers by many gifts and honours, and inuring their bodies to service by frequent marches and exercises; so that some of the Macedonians were assonished, and others overjoyed, to see that in so short a time he had got together no less than six thousand three hundred horse sit for service.

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When Craterus and Antipater, having fubdued Greece, were advanced into Afia, with an intention to quell the power of Perdiccas, and were reported to defign an attack upon Cappadocia, Perdiccas being himself to march against Ptolemy, made Eumemes commander in chief of all the forces of Armenia and Cappadocia; and to that purpose he wrote letters, requiring Alcetas and Neoptolemus to be obedient to Eumenes, and giving full commission to Eumenes to manage every thing as he thought fit. Alcetas absolutely refused to serve, because his Macedonians (he faid) were ashamed to fight against Antipater, and loved Craterus fo well, that they were ready to receive him for their commander. On the other hand, it was visible that Neoptolemus defigned treachery against Eumenes; for when he was fent for, he refused to come, and put himself in a posture of defence. Here Eumenes first found the benefit of his own forefight and contrivance; for his foot being beaten, he routed Neoptolemus with his horse, and took all his baggage; and closely purfuing the phalanx which he had broken and difordered, he obliged the men to lay down their arms, and take an oath to ferve under him. optolemus, with some few stragglers which he collected together, fled to Craterus and Antipater. Eumenes had just before received an embassy from them, inviting him over to their party, and promifing fing to secure him in the government he was already possessed of, to add others to them, and to increase the number of his forces, provided of an enemy he would become a friend to Antipater, and of a friend, would not become an enemy to Craterus. To which Eumenes replied, That he could not so suddenly be reconciled to his old enemy Antipater, especially since he saw him use his friends like enemies; but that he was ready to reconcile Craterus to Perdiccas upon just and equitable terms; but that if he attacked Perdiccas, he was resolved to assist the injured to his last breath, and would

rather lose his life than betray his word.

Antipater receiving this answer, determined to confider of the whole affair at leifure. In the mean time Neoptolemus arrived, and acquainted them with the ill fuccess of the battle, and requested both of them to affift him, but especially Craterus, because the Macedonians loved him so exceedingly, that if they faw but his hat, or heard his voice, they would all arm and follow him. And indeed Craterus had a great reputation among them, and the foldiers, after Alexander's death, were extremely fond of him, remembering how often he had for their fakes incurred Alexander's displeasure, by restraining him from following the Persian fashions, to which he very much inclined, and by defending the customs of his country, when through pride and delicacy they began to be difregarded. Craterus therefore sent Antipater, into Cilicia, and himfelf and Neoptolemus marched with a great army against Eumenes, expecting to come upon him unawares, and to find his army difordered with revelling after the late victory. Now that Eumenes should suspect his coming, and be prepared to receive him, is indeed a greater argument of his vigilance than of his fagacity; but that he should contrive both to conceal from his enemies the posture he was in, and to prevent his own men from discovering whom they were to fight with, so

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as to make them serve against Craterus himself, without knowing that he commanded the enemy; this feems an instance of art and address peculiar to himself. He gave out therefore, that Neoptolemus. and Pigris with fome Cappadocian and Paphlagonian horse were coming against him. The night he intended to decamp, and march to meet them, he fell into a found fleep, and had this extraordinary dream: he fancied he faw two Alexanders ready to engage, each commanding his respective phalanx, the one affifted by Minerva, the other by Ceres; and that, after a hot dispute, he on whose fide Minerva appeared was beaten; and Ceres gathering fome corn, wove it into a crown for the victor. This vision Eumenes interpreted as bodding fuccess to himself, who was to fight for a fruitful country, the whole being fowed with corn, and the fields covered fo thick with it, that they made an appearance fuitable to a state of profound peace. And he was further confirmed in his opinion, when he understood that the word which Neoptolemus and Craterus had given to the foldiers was Minerva and Alexander; the word therefore which he gave to his men was Ceres and Alexander; and he ordered them to make garlands for themselves, and to drefs their arms with wreaths of corn. He was strongly tempted to discover to his captains and officers whom they were to engage with, and not to conceal a fecret of fuch moment in his own breaft alone; yet he kept to his first resolution, and ventured to run the hazard of his own judgment. When he came to give battle, he would not trust any Macedonian to engage Craterus, but appointed two troops of foreign horse, commanded by Pharnabazus son to Artabazus, and Phænix of Tenedos, with orders to charge as foon as ever they faw the enemy, without giving them leifure to speak or retire, or receiving any message from them; for he exceedingly feared the Macedonians, left, knowing Craterus.

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Craterus, they should go over to his fide. He himfelf, with three hundred of his best horse, led the right wing against Neoptolemus. When the enemy, having passed a little hill, came in view, and Eumenes's men charged with more than ordinary impetuofity, Craterus was amazed, and feverely reproached Neoptolemus for deceiving him with hopes that the Macedonians would revolt; however, he exhorted his officers to behave with resolution, and rode forward to the attack. The first engagement was very fierce, and the spears being soon broke to pieces, they came to close fighting with their fwords. And here Craterus did by no means dishonour A. lexander, but flew feveral of his enemies, and repolfed many that affaulted him; but at last he received a wound in his fide from a Thracian, and fell from his horfe. Being down, many not knowing him went over him; but Gorgias, one of Eumenes's captains, knew him, and alighting from his horfe guarded his body, which was now in a weak condition, and even in the very agony of death. In the mean time Neoptolemus and Eumenes were engaged, who being inveterate and mortal enemies, fought for one another, though they did not meet in the two first charges; however in the third they met, and drawing their fwords, with loud shouts immediately attacked each other. Their horses running full speed struck against each other in front, like two galleys; then their riders quitting their bridles, took mutual hold, each striving to pull off the helmet of his enemy, and to loofen his breaft-plate. While they were thus stripping one another, their horses went from under them, and they fell together to the ground, both of them keeping their hold, and struggling like wrestlers. Neoptolemus beginning to rife first, Eumenes wounded him in the ham, and got upon his feet before him. Neoptolemus, who had one of his legs disabled by the wound in his ham, refted upon his knee, and fought 1-

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in that posture with a great deal of courage, but without being able to hurt his enemy mortally; at last, receiving a wound in his neck, he grew faint, and dropped down. Eumenes instantly fell upon him, began to strip him of his armour, and bitterly reviled him, and was fo transported by his rage and inveterate malice against him, that he perceived not that his fword was still in his hand, so that Neoptolemus wounded him in the groin as he lay upon him. But indeed the wound rather frighted than hurt him, being the last weak effort of a dying perfon. Having stripped the dead body, ill as he was of the wounds he had received in his legs and arms, he mounted his horse again, and made towards the left wing of his army, which he supposed to be still engaged. Hearing of the death of Craterus, he rode up to him, and finding there was yet some life in him, he alighted from his horse and wept; and giving him his right hand, inveighed bitterly against Neoptolemus, and lamented both Craterus's misfortune, and his own hard fate, that he should be neceffitated to fight against an old friend and acquaintance, and either to do or fuffer to great an injury.

This victory Eumenes obtained about ten days after the former, and got great reputation from it, both for his conduct and his valour. But, on the contrary, it created him great envy both among his allies and his enemies, that he, a stranger and a foreigner, should employ the forces and arms of Macedon to cut off one of the bravest and most confiderable men of that nation. Had the news of this defeat come time enough to Perdiccas, he would doubtless have been the greatest of all the Macedonians; but he being flain in a mutiny in Egypt two days before the news arrived, the Macedonians in a rage decreed Eumenes's death, giving joint commission to Antigonus and Antipater to prosecute the war against him. In the mean time Eumenes meetng with the king's stud, which were feeding upon

Mount Ida, he took as many as he had occasion for, and fent bills of discharge for them to those who had the care of them. At this Antipater laughed, and faid, he admired the wariness of the man, who feemed to think that an account of the king's effects would either be expected from him, or given to him. Eumenes had defigned to engage in the plains of Lydia near Sardis, both because his chief strength confifted in his cavalry, and because he was desirous to let Cleopatra see how powerful he was. But at the particular request of that princess, who was afraid left if he should wait there for the enemy, it might give fome umbrage to Antipater, and make him accufe her of maintaining a correspondence with him, he marched into the upper Phrygia, and wintered at Celænæ. There Alcetas, Polemon, and Docimus entered into a dispute with him about the command of the army; whereupon he faid, This makes good that observation; Every one thinks of advancing himself, but no one thinks on the danger he runs of raining all, and himself among the rest.

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He had promifed his foldiers that they should receive their pay within three days; but for want of money to make good his promife, he fold them all the farms and caftles in the country, together with the men and cattle that were upon them. Every captain or officer that had bought a castle, took fome battering engines with which he was furnished by Eumenes, and went to take possession by force; and when he had taken it, he divided the spoil among his company, proportionably to every man's arrears. Hereby Eumenes came again to be beloved; so that when letters were found thrown about the camp by the enemy, promising a hundred talents, besides great honours, to any one that should kill Eumenes, the Macedonians were extremely offended, and made an order, that from that time a thousand of their best men should continually guard his person, and keep strict watch about him by night

night in their turns. This order was cheerfully obeyed, and they gladly received of Eumenes fuch honours as princes use to confer upon their favourites: for he had a right to bestow purple hats and cloaks, which among the Macedonians were reckoned the most honourable presents the king

could give.

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Prosperity elevates men of little minds, and external grandeur throws a false glare of dignity around them which may dazzle the eyes of superficial observers; but the truly noble and steady mind manifests its native greatness most in difficulties and misfortunes. And thus it was with Eumenes. For having by the treachery of one of his own officers lost the field to Antigonus at Orcyni in Cappadocia. he gave the traitor no opportunity to escape to the enemy, but immediately feized and hanged him. Then in his flight, taking a contrary course to his purfuers, he stole by them unawares, returned to the place where the battle had been fought, and encamped. There he gathered up the dead bodies. and burnt them with the wood taken from the doors in the neighouring villages. The officers were burnt apart from the common foldiers; and after he had raifed over them heaps of earth, which ferved as fepulchral monuments, he decamped, and continued his march; fo that Antigonus, who came thither foon after, was aftonished at his great courage and firm resolution.

After this, as he was upon his march, the baggage of Antigonus fell in his way, and he might easily have taken many captives, both slaves and freemen, and much wealth collected from the spoils of so many battles and incursions; but he feared lest his men, overladen with booty, might become unfit for slight, impatient of fatigue, and unwilling to hold out so long time as he designed; for upon this he laid the main stress of his hopes, that Antigonus would at last be weary of pursuing him, and

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turn his course another way. But then considering it would be extremely difficult to restrain the Macedonians from plunder, when it feemed to offer itself, he ordered his troops to halt, and bait their horses, and then attack the enemy. In the mean time he fent privately to Menander, who had care of the enemies baggage, pretending a concern for him upon the score of former friendship and acquaintance, and therefore advising him to quit the plain, and fecure himfelf upon the fide of a neighbouring hill, where the horse might not be able to hem him in. When Menander, fenfible of his danger, had packed up the baggage and removed to the hill, Eumenes openly fent his fcouts to difcover the enemy's posture, and commanded his men to arm, and bridle their horses, as defigning immediately to give battle. But when the fcouts returned with news that Menander had fecured himself in so difficult a post, that it was impossible to take him, Eumenes, pretending to be much concerned at the disappointment, drew off his men another way. It is faid, that when Menander reported this afterwards to Antigonus, and the Macedonians commended Eumenes, imputing it to his fingular good-nature, that having it in his power to make flaves of their children, and ravish their wives, he forbore, and spared them all, Antigonus replied, He did not regard us, my friends, but himself, being loath to wear fo many shackles when he designed to fly. From that time Eumenes daily flying, and wandering about, perfuaded many of his foldiers to disband, whether out of kindness to them, or unwillingness to lead about such a body of men, as were too few to engage, and too many to fly undiscovered. Being come to the citadel of Nora, in the confines of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, with five hundred horse and two hundred foot, he again dismissed as many of his friends as defired it, through fear either of the straitness of the place,

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or want of provisions; and embracing them with all demonstrations of kindness, he gave them leave to depart *. Antigonus, when he came before this fort, defired to have an interview with Eumenes before the fiege; but he answered, That Antigonus had many friends who might command in his room, if any misfortune should befal him; but they whose defence be had undertaken, had nobody to substitute in his place; wherefore if Antigonus defired to treat with him, he should first send hostages. Antigonus infifted, that Eumenes should first come to him, he being the greater man; but Eumenes replied, While I am able to wield a fword, I shall think no man greater than myfelf. However, when, according to Eumenes's demand, Antigonus had fent his nephew Ptolemy to the fort, Eumenes went out to him, and they mutually embraced with great civility and friendship, as having formerly been very intimate. After a long conversation, when Eumenes made no mention of his own pardon and fecurity, but demanded to be confirmed in his feveral governments, and withal to be honourably rewarded for his fervice, all that were present were astonished at his courage and spirit; and many others of the Macedonians flocked to fee what fort of person Eumenes was; for, fince the death of Craterus, no man had been fo much talked of in the army. But Antigonus being afraid for him, lest he might suffer some violence, first commanded the soldiers to keep off, calling out, and ordering those to be driven back with stones that continued to press forward, notwithstanding his commands to the contrary. At last receiving Eumenes into his arms, and keeping off the croud with his guards, he not without great difficulty returned him fafe into the fort,

^{*} There were a hundred who left him upon this occasion, so that he had not above fix hundred of his men who remained with him; but they were all determined to share in his danger, and to die with him.

Antigonus having built a wall round Nora, left a force fufficient to carry on the fiege, and drew off the rest of his army. The fort was abundantly stored with corn, water, and falt, but in want of every thing elfe fit to eat, fo that Eumenes was forced to feed upon dry bread; and yet even with that food he kept a cheerful table for his friends. inviting them feverally in their turns, and feafoning his entertainment with a kind and agreeable behaviour. His countenance was graceful and pleafing; he did not look like a rough foldier, haraffed and worn out by the fatigues of war, but was smooth and florid, and his shape was as delicate as if his limbs had been carved by art in the most accurate proportions. He had not a great force of eloquence, but his manner of speaking was mild and perfualive, as appears by some of his letters. which are still extant.

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The greatest distress of the besieged was the straitness of the place they were in, the houses being very fmall, and the whole place but two furlongs in compass; so that both they and their horses fed without exercise. Wherefore, not only to prevent the languor and fluggishness that both might contract by that inactive way of life, but to have them in a condition to fly, if occasion required, he affigned a room fourteen cubits long (the largest in all the fort) for the men to walk in, directing them to begin their walk gently, and gradually to mend their pace. And for the horses, he tied them to the roof of the stable with strong halters, which being fastened about their necks, he with a pully gently raifed them, till standing upon the ground with their hind-feet, they could just reach it with the ends of their fore-feet. In this posture the grooms plied them with whips and noise; and the horses being thus irritated, furiously kicked with their hind-feet, and strained themselves to the utmost, labouring to fet their fore-feet upon the

the ground; and thus their whole body was exercised, till they were all in a foam. After this exercise, which was very proper to give them strength and speed, and to render their limbs pliant and easy, he gave them their corn boiled, that they

might fooner dispatch, and better digest it.

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The fiege continuing long, Antigonus received advice that Antipater was dead in Macedonia, and that affairs were embroiled by the differences between Caffander and Polyperchon; whereupon he conceived no mean hopes, but purposed to make himself master of all: in order to which he earnestly defired to bring Eumenes over to his interest. that he might have his advice and affiftance. Wherefore he fent Hieronymus ** with terms of peace, and the form of an oath which was to be taken by Eumenes. Eumenes first corrected parts of it, and then referred himself to the Macedonians themselves that besieged him, to be judged by them, which of the two forms was the most equitable. Antigonus in the beginning of his had flightly mentioned the royal family, but the fequel related to himself alone: whereas Eumenes, in the correction he had made, named Olympias in the first place, and the princes her children, and did not swear to be true to Antigonus only, and to have the same friends and enemies with him, as contained in the oath drawn up by Antigonus, but to be true to Olympias and her children, and to be a friend to their friends, and an enemy to their enemies. This form the Macedonians thinking the more reasonable, fwore Eumenes accordingly, and raised the siege. fending also to Antigonus for him to swear in the fame terms with Eumenes. Eumenes then returned all the hostages of the Cappadocians which he had

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^{*} This was Hieronymus of Cardia, a countryman of Eumenes, and an historian of great reputation. He wrote a history of those princes who divided Alexander's dominions between them, and of their successors.

in Nora, and received in exchange horses, tents, and beasts of carriage. When this was done, he endeavoured to recall as many as he could of those soldiers who had sled after his defeat, and were wandering up and down the country. Of these he soon got together a body of near a thousand horse *, and retired with them in great haste, being still jealous of Antigonus, and that with very good reason; for he had not only ordered him to be besieged again, but sent a very sharp answer to the Macedonians, for admitting the amendments he had made in the oath.

Whilst Eumenes was in his flight, he received letters from feveral of the most considerable perfons in Macedonia, who were jealous of the growing power of Antigonus. Olympias too invited him thither, to take upon him the charge of Alexander's little fon, whose enemies were plotting his destruction. He received other letters from Polyperchon and King Philip, requiring him tomake war against Antigonus with all the forces in Cappadocia, and impowering him to take five hundred talents out of the royal treasure at Quinda, in order to re-establish his own affairs, and as much more as should be thought necessary to carry on the war. They wrote also to the same effect to Antigenes and Teutamus, the chief officers of the Argyraspides. They having received the letters, treated Eumenes outwardly with great respect and kindness; but it was apparent enough they were full of envy and emulation, and thought it an affront to be commanded by him. Eumenes removed their envy, by refusing to accept the money, as if he had not needed it; but as for their jealoufy and ambition, which made them refuse to obey him, though they were themselves very unfit to command, the only remedy he had to apply to that evil was the spirit of superstition, with which he ende

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deavoured to possess them. He pretended that A-lexander had appeared to him in a dream, and showed him a regal pavilion richly furnished, with a throne in it, and told him *, if they would sit in council there, he himself would be present, and prosper all the consultations and enterprises which they should begin in his name. Antigenes and Teutamus were easily prevailed upon to believe this, being no more disposed to sit in council in his tent, than he was to enter under the roof of another. Wherefore they erected a royal tent, and a throne, which they called Alexander's; and there they met to consult upon all affairs of moment.

Afterwards they advanced into the upper coun. try, and in their march met with Peucestas, a friend of Eumenes, and with some other governours of the provinces, who joined forces with them, and greatly encouraged the Macedonians with the number and appearance of their men. But as these newcomers were grown very mutinous and ungovernable, through the licentiousness in which they had indulged themselves ever fince the death of Alexander, and were exceedingly diffolute in their way of living, and besides had brought with them a spirit of arrogance and tyranny, natural to the Barbarians, they foon grew unconverfable and rude to one another. But they careffed and flattered the Macedonians beyond measure, and furnished them with money for feafts and facrifices, fo that in a

^{*} Diodorus Siculus has given us a full relation of this particular; and there seems to be something wanting here in the account Plutarch is giving of this vision; for in that author Eumenes adds, "For this reason I am of opinion that we take out of the royal treasury a sum sufficient to make a throne of gold; that upon this throne we set the diadem, the sceptre, and crown, and all the other regal ornaments belonging to that prince; that every morning all the commanders offer him a facrifice; that they assemble in council near the throne, and that the orders be issued in his name, as if he was still living, and providing for the welfare and prosperity of his kingdom." But Plutarch does not make Eumenes give this advice; but leaves Antigenes and Teutamus to come into it by way of consequence.

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fhort time the camp grew to be a place of intemperance and debauch; and the foldiers feemed to have erected themselves into a fort of popular state, where offices were to be obtained by cabal and bribery, as in a real commonwealth. Eumenes perceiving that these commanders despised one another, but that all of them stood in sear of him, and sought an opportunity to kill him, pretended to be in want of money, and borrowed many talents, of those efpecially who most hated him, to make them both conside in him, and forbear all violence towards, him for fear of losing their own money. Thus his enemies estates were the guard of his person, and by receiving money, he purchased safety, for which

other men use to give it.

The Macedonians, while there was no appearance of danger, made all their court to those that treated and bribed them; and they had their guards, and affected to appear as generals. But when Antigonus came upon them with a great army, and their affairs seemed to call out for a real general, then not only the common soldiers cast their eyesupon Eumenes, but even their leaders, who in times of peace and luxury had affumed fo much state and grandeur, all submitted to him, and quietly posted themselves as he appointed them. And when Antigonus attempted to pass the river, Pasitigris, not one of those officers who had been appointed by Eumenes to guard the pass, was even aware of his march; Eumenes only met and encountered him, flew as many of his men as filled up the river with their carcales, and took four thousand of them prisoners. And when Eumenes. was fick, then especially the Macedonians discovered that in their judgment, though others could entertain them splendidly, he alone knew how to For Peucestas having fight and lead an army. made a magnificent entertainment in Persia, and given each of the foldiers a sheep wherewith to sacrifice.

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crifice, flattered himself that he should have the greatest authority among them. But soon after when the army was upon the march in quest of the enemy, Eumenes fell fo dangerously ill, that he was forced to be carried in a litter at some distance in the rear, that his rest might not be disturbed by any noise. When they were a little advanced, they all on a fudden perceived the enemy, who had paffed the hills that lay between them, and were marching down into the plain. As foon as they faw the brightness of their golden armour which glittered in the fun as they marched down the hill, the elephants with their castles on their backs, and the men dreffed in purple (as their manner was when they were going to give battle), the front halted, and called out for Eumenes, declaring that they would not advance any further unless he were at the head of them. At the fame time they grounded their arms, gave the word among themselves to stand, and required their officers not to ftir or expose the troops till Eumenes was come up to command them.

News of this being brought to Eumenes, he hastened them that carried his litter, and opening the curtains on both fides, he put on a cheerful countenance, and held his hand out to the foldiers. As foon as they faw him, they faluted him in the Macedonian language, and took up their shields, and striking them with their pikes, gave a great shout, and challenged the enemy to come on, as if they were afraid of nothing now they had a general to conduct them. But Antigonus understanding by some prisoners he had taken, that Eumenes was fick, and was obliged to be carried in a litter behind. the rear of the army, prefumed it would be no hard matter to defeat the rest while he was indisposed. Wherefore he made the greater hafte to come up with them, and engage. But being come so near, as to discover how the enemy was drawn up, he was aftonished, and paused for some time; at last he saw the litter as they were carrying it from one wing of the army to the other, and (as his manner was) laughing aloud, he said to his friends, That litter there, it seems, is the thing that offers us battle; but he immediately sounded a retreat, and encamped *.

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* I wonder Plutarch has omitted in this place a circumstance related by Diodorus. After the two armies were separated without coming to action, they encamped about three furlongs distance from each other, having a river and some ditches between them. And as they lay under great inconveniencies in a country that had been exhausted by the two armies, Antigonus fent his ambassadors to the Satrapæ and Macedonians in the army of Eumenes, to persuade them to quit Eumenes, and come over to him, exhorting them to it by many magnificent promises. But the Macedonians rejected these offers with indignation, and threatened the ambassadors; whereupon Eumenes, after he had commended them for their fidelity, related to them this ancient fable : Alion once falling in love with a young damfel, demanded her in marriage of her father. The father answered, that he looked on such an alliance as a great bonour to his family, but stood in fear of his claws and teeth, lest upon any trifling dispute that might happen between them after they were married, be might exercise them a little too hastily upon his caughter. To remove this objection, the amorous lion caused both his nails and teeth to be drawn; upon which, the father took a cudgel, and soon got rid of his enemy. This, continued he, is the very thing aimed at by Antigonus, who makes you large promises till be is become master of your forces, and then be will make you feel bis teeth and claws. A few days after this, Eumenes being informed by some deserters, that Antigonus intended to decamp the night following at the fecond watch, immediately apprehended thathe defigned to remove into the province of the Gabeni, a fruitful country capable of subfifting a numerous army, and besides very safe and commodicus for the troops, by reason of the many rivers and hollow ways that croffed it; wherefore he resolved to be beforehand with him. To this end he hired some mercenary soldiers to desert to Antigonus, and tell him that Eumenes had laid a delign to attack him in his entrenchments as foon as it grew dark. At the same time he caused his baggage to move, and ordered his troops as foon as they had refreshed themselves to decamp. Antigonus being informed by these deserters, that Eumenes intended to attack him, kept his men in a condition to receive him, whilf Eumenes proceeded on his march. Antigonus was foon informed by his fcouts that Eumenes was de. camped, and though he perceived that he was over-reached by his enemy, yet he continued in his first resolution, raised his camp, and made such haste, that his motion looked more like a pursuit than a march. But confidering that it was impossible for him to come up with his whole army, and overtake Eumenes, who at least had got the flart.

The Macedonians were no fooner recovered out of their fright, but they returned to their former mutinous practices and infolent behaviour to their commanders. They dispersed themfelves through the whole provinces of the Gabeni, where they took up their winter-quarters, and were scattered in such a manner, that the front was near a thousand furlongs distant from the rear. When Antigonus was informed of this, he immediately marched towards them, taking the shortest way, though the country through which he was to pals was very rugged, and difficult, and destitute of water; but he hoped, that if he should surprise them thus fcattered in their winter-quarters, the officers would find it a difficult matter to draw the troops together, fo as to be able to make head against him. But when he entered this uninhabited country, where the winds were bleak and boifterous, and the frosts severe, he was very much checked in his march, and his men exceedingly tired. The only relief in this case was making continual fires, whereby his enemies got notice of his coming. For the Barbarians who dwelt on the mountains bordering upon the defert, amazed at the multitude of fires they faw, fent meffengers up. on dromedaries, to acquaint Peucestas with it. He being aftonished, and finding the rest in no less confternation, refolved to fly, and collect what men he could by the way. But Eumenes delivered him from his great fear and anxiety, undertaking to ftop

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start of him by two watches, he left his foot under the command of Pithon, and proceeded full speed at the head of his cavalry, so that by day-break he came up with the enemy's rear, as they were marching down a hill, upon the top of which he halted. Eumenes, upon sight of the cavalry, concluded that the whole army was present, and drew up his forces in order of battle. Thus Antigonus deceived Eumenes in his turn; for he hindered him from continuing his march till he was joined by his infantry. After this both armies engaged, and the action which was very sharp, was likewise remarkable for the many turns and extraordinary events, which well deserved to be described as they are by Diodorus.

the enemy's career, in fuch a manner, that they should arrive three days later than they were expected. Having thus encouraged them, he immediately dispatched expresses to all the officers, to draw the men out of their winter-quarters, and muster them with speed. In the mean time, he himself with some of the chief officers rode out, and made choice of an eminence which was within view of fuch as travelled the defert; this he quartered out, and commanded many fires at proper intervals, to be made in it, that they who beheld them at a distance might take it for a real camp, When Antigonus faw the fires upon the hill, he was extremely afflicted and dispirited, supposing that his enemies had been long advertised of his march, and were prepared to receive him. Wherefore, left his army, now tired out with their march, should be forced immediately to encounter with men who had been well refreshed in their winter-quarters, and were ready for battle, he quitted the near way, and marched flowly through the towns and villages, to refresh his troops. But meeting with no such skirmishes as are usual when two armies lie near one another, and being affured by the people of the country, that no army had been feen, but only continual fires in that place, he concluded he had been outwitted by a stratagem of Eumenes, and being very much troubled, advanced towards him, refolving immediately to give battle *. By this time the greatest part of the forces were come together;

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^{*} Whilst Eumenes waited in his camp till all his forces were come up to join him, Antigonus was informed that his elephants were on the march, and that they were not far from the desert; wherefore he detached a party of two thousand horse, and his light-armed foot to intercept them. But Eumenes foreseeing this, and concluding that Antigonus would have some such design, had likewise made a detachment on his part-of fifteen hundred horse and two thousand foot so their security. This detachment came up just as Antigonus's men had fallen upon the convoy, and almost deseated it; but this affistance coming seasonably, repelled the enemy, and brought all the elephants off safe, to the number of a hundred and sourteen.

and admiring the great conduct and prudence of Eumenes, they declared him fole commander of the whole army. Antigenes and Teutamus, captains of the Argyraspides, being very much offended at this, and envying Eumenes, formed a conspiracy against him; and affembling the greater part of the governours of the provinces and the chief officers, they confulted when and how they should destroy him. When they had unanimously agreed to make use of his fervice in the next battle, and immediately afterwards to kill him, Eudamus the commander of theelephants, and Phædimus, gave Eumenes private advice of this defign, not out of kindness or good-will to him, but left they should lose the money they had lent him. Eumenes having commended them, retired to his tent, and told his friends that his condition was like that of a man exposed to wild beafts in a public spectacle. He then made his will, and destroyed and tore all his letters, lest his correspondents after his death should be questioned or punished for the intelligence they had given him. Having thus disposed his affairs, he thought of letting the enemy win the battle, or of flying through Media and Armenia, and feizing Cappadocia; but he came to no resolution while his friends staid with him. After revolving divers things in his mind, which his changeable fortune made unsteady and fickle, he at last drew up his men *, and encouraged the Greeks and Barbarians; as for the Argyraspides, they encouraged him, and bid him not doubt of the victory, telling him, that the enemy would never be able to stand them. For indeed they were the oldest of all the troops that had fer-

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^{*} The order of battle observed by Eumenes, and Antigonus, on this occasion, such as it is described by Diodorus Siculus, might possibly have deserved a place here. The army of Antigonus consisted of twenty-two thousand foot, nine thousand horse, with some Medan cavalry, and sixty-five elephants. Eumenes had in his army thirty-fix thousand seven hundred foot, six thousand and sisty horse, and a hundred and sourteen elephants.

ved under Philip and Alexander, men who had long made a trade of war, and had never been beaten or foiled, though many of them were feventy, and none less than fixty years old. Wherefore when they charged Antigonus's men, they cried out, Villains, you fight against your fathers; and furiously falling on, they routed the infantry, killing great numbers of them upon the fpot, fo that here Antigonus was totally defeated But on the other fide his cavalry had the advantage through the cowardice of Peucestas, who behaved most shamefully in that action; fo that Antigonus made himfelf mafter of all the baggage; and this was as much owing to his presence of mind, which never failed him in the greatest danger, as the situation and nature of the place, which was of great advantage to him, for it was a plain open country, of a foil neither deep, nor hard under foot, but like the fea-shore, covered with a fine dry fand, which the treading of fo many men and horses, in the time of the battle, reduced to a fmall white dust, that like a cloud of lime darkened the air, so that no one could fee clearly at any distance, which made it eafy for Antigonus to take the baggage unperceived.

After the battle, Teutamus sent a message to Antigonus to demand the baggage. He answered, he would not only restore it to the Argyraspides, but serve them further in other things, if they would surrender Eumenes. Whereupon the Agyraspides made a villanous resolution, to deliver him up alive to the hands of his enemies. Accordingly they came to wait upon him, being unsuspected by him, and appearing as if they only came to guard him as usual. Some lamented the loss of the baggage, some encouraged him as if he had been victor, and some laid the blame of their loss upon the other officers. At last they all fell upon him, and seizing his sword, bound his hands behind him with his own girdle. When Antigonus had sent Nicanor to receive him,

he begged he might be led through the Macedonians, and have liberty to speak to them, not to request, or deprecate any thing, but only to advise them what would be for their interest. Silence being made, as he stood upon a rising ground, he stretched out his hands bound *, and faid, What trophy, O ye basest of all the Macedonians, could Antigonus have wished for, so great as you yourselves have erected to him, in delivering up your general captive into his hands? Was it not disgrace enough when you were conquerors to own yourselves conquered, for the sake only of your baggage, as if it were wealth, not arms, where in victory confisted? But must your general too be deliver. ed up to redeem it? As for me, I am unvanquished, though a captive. I have conquered my enemies, and am betrayed by my fellow-foldiers. For you, I adjure you by fupiter the protector of armies, and by all the gods that are the avengers of perjury, to kill me here with your own hands; for whether I fall by you or by Antigonus, you only will be guilty of my death: nor will Antigonus complain; for he desires not Eumenes alive, but dead. If ye will with-hold your own hands, release but one of mine, it shall suffice to do the work; but if you dare not trust me with a fword, throw me bound as I am to wild beafts. This if you do, I shall freely acquit you from the guilt of my death, and declare you the most just and faithful of soldiers to your general. While Eumenes was thus fpeaking, the rest of the soldiers wept for grief; but the Argyraspides with a loud voice cried out, Lead him on, without listening to his impertinences: for the ruin of a vile vagabond Chersonesan, who has wasted the Macedonians, in so many battles, is not to be regretted; but the case of those brave soldiers who served under Philip and Alexander, would be deplorable, if, after for many tiresome marches and hazardous engagements, they

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^{*} How could that be, fince Plutarch tells us just before that his hands were tied behind him? Perhaps something is wanting in the text. Justin says, that his hands were loosened: Fallo filentio, laxatif-que vinculis, prolatam, sicut catenatus erat, oftendit manum, xivi 4.

should be deprived of the fruits of so long service, and be reduced in their old age to beg their bread. And have not our wives been now three nights in the power of our enemies? They then pushed him on with great violence. But Antigonus fearing the multitude, (for no body was left in the camp), sent ten of his strongest elephants with a considerable number of his Medan and Parthyæan spearmen to keep off the croud.

When Eumenes was conducted into the camp, Antigonus could not bear to fee him, by reason of their former intimacy and friendship; and when they who had him in custody, inquired of Antigonus how he would have him kept? As I would, (faid he), an elephant or a lion. A little after, being moved with compassion, he commanded the heaviest of his irons to be knocked off, one of his own fervants was admitted to anoint him, and any of his friends who defired it, had liberty to visit him, and bring him what he wanted. Antigonus deliberated for feveral days what to do with him; fometimes he was inclined to liften to the advice and promises of Nearchus of Crete, and Demetrius his fon, who were very earnest to preferve Eumenes, whilst all the rest were importunate to have him put to death. It is reported, that Eumenes inquired of Onomarchus his keeper, why Antigonus, now he had his enemy in his hands, would not either forthwith dispatch or generously release him? and that Onomarchus contumeliously answered, The field had been a more proper place than this for you to have shown your contempt of death. And there I did Show it, replied Eumenes; I appeal to the men that engaged me; but I could not meet with a man that was too hard for me. Therefore (rejoined Onomarchus), now you have found such a man, why do not you submit quietly to his pleasure? When Antigonus had at last refolved to kill Eumenes, he commanded his keepers to allow him no more fustenance; fo that after

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he had fasted two or three days, he began to draw near his end: but the camp being on some sudden alarm obliged to remove, an executioner was sent to dispatch him. Antigonus granted his body to his friends, and permitted them to burn it; and having gathered his ashes into a silver urn, he allowed them to send it to his wife and children.

Eumenes being thus put to death, heaven committed the punishment of those officers and soldiers who had betrayed him, to no one but Antigonus himself, who detesting the Argyraspides as wicked and inhuman villains, delivered them up to lbyrtius *, governour of Arachosia, commanding him to use every method to destroy them, so that not one of them might ever come to Macedon, or even within sight of the Grecian sea.

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The Comparison of SERTORIUS with EUMENES.

These are the most remarkable passages that are come to our knowledge, concerning Eumenes and Sertorius. In comparing their lives we may observe, that this was common to them both, that being aliens, strangers, and banished men, they continued even to the end of their lives to be commanders of numerous and warlike armies, made up of divers nations. But this was peculiar to Sertorius, that the chief command was by his whole party freely yielded to him, as to the person of the greatest merit; whereas many contended with Eumenes, till by his great exploits he at length obtained the superiority. Those who obeyed Sertorius were desirous to be commanded by him; but Eumenes, to be commanded by him; but Eumenes, the superiority is the superiority of the superiority.

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^{*} He did not deliver up Antigenes to be punished by Ibyrtius, for he ordered him to be cast into a dungeon, and burnt alive. He likewise put Eudemus, Celbanus, and some others to death.

menes commanded those who submitted to him only for their own fecurity, and because they found themselves incapable of commanding. The one being a Roman; was the general of the Spaniards and Lusitanians, who for many years before had been under subjection to the Roman empire; and the other a Chersonesian, was chief commander of the Macedonians, who had subdued the world. Sertorius being already in high esteem for his former fervices in war, and his great abilities in the fenatehouse, was advanced to the dignity of a general; whereas Eumenes obtained this honour when he had been only a fecretary, and had been despised for the meanness of his employment. Nor did he only rife at first from a smaller beginning, but afterwards also met with greater impediments in his progrefs, and that not only from those who publicly opposed him, but from many others who privately conspired against him: but it was much otherwife with Sertorius, for not one of his party did ever publicly oppose him; though till at last a few of his acquaintance entered into a private confoiracy to take away his life. Sertorius put an end to his dangers, as often as he was victorious in the field; whereas the victories of Eumenes were the beginning of his calamities, through the malice of those who envied his glory.

Their martial exploits were equal and similar, but their manners and inclinations were different. Eumenes naturally loved war and contention, but Sertorius esteemed peace and tranquillity. When Eumenes might have lived in safety, and with honour, if he would have quietly retired, he persisted in his contentions, and made war with the greatest of the Macedonian princes: but Sertorius, who was unwilling to trouble himself with any public disturbances, was forced, for the safety of his person, to make war against those who would not suffer him to live in peace. If Eumenes had not violently

SERTORIUS WITH EU MENES. 67

lently contended for the superiority, or could have contented himself with the second place, Antigonus would have shown him the greatest kindness and respect; whereas Pompey's friends would never permit Sertorius to live in quiet. The one when in power made war of his own accord; and the other was constrained to accept of the sovereign power to defend himself from his enemies who made war against him. Eumenes was certainly a lover of war, for he preferred his covetousness and ambition before his ease and security; but Sertorius was truly warlike who had recourse to arms only for his own safety.

As to the manner of their deaths, the one died without the least expectation of it; the other when he suspected it daily; this in the first argued a good and generous temper which did not lead him to diftrust his friends; but in the other it showed some infirmity of spirit, for Eumenes intended to fly *. and was taken. The death of Sertorius dishonoured not his life; he fuffered that from his companions which none of his enemies were ever able toperform. The other not being able to deliver himfelf before his imprisonment, and betraying a defire to live even after his captivity +, did neither prevent his fate, nor support it honourably; for by meanly fupplicating and petitioning, he made his enemy, who pretended only to have power over his body, the mafter of his mind also.

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^{*} That which Plutarch says here relates to a passage in page 67, where Eumenes deliberates with himself whether he shall give up the victory to the enemy, or retire into Cappadocia.

[†] Where does this appear? No where in Plutarch. On the contrary Eumenes demanded that Antigonus would either put him to death speedily, or release him generously.

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AGESILAUS.

A Rchidamus, the fon of Zeuxidamus, having reigned gloriously over the Lacedæmonians. left behind him two fons, Agis the elder, whom he had by Lampido *, a woman of a very illustrious. family, and Agefilaus, much the younger, whom he had by Eupolia, the daughter of Melifippidas. As the crown belonged to Agis by law, Agefilaus, who in all probability was to be but a private man, was educated according to the usual discipline of the country, which was very laborious and fevere, but fuch as taught young men how to obey their fuperiours. Hence Simonides, they fay, called Sparta the tamer of men, because, by a strictness of education, the citizens were inured to obedience of the laws, and rendered patient of subjection, as horses are broke when they are colts. The law did not hold fo strict a rein on the heirs to the crown: but Agefilaus, who was a younger brother, was taught by his education to obey before he was advanced to the government. Hence it was that he became the most popular of the Spartan kings, haF

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^{*} This Lampido was the daughter of Leotychidas, and confequently the fifter of Archidamus to whom she was married, but sister by the father's side only.

ving learned how to temper the grandeur of a royal condition with that humanity and complacency to

which he had been formed by his education.

While he was yet a boy, bred up in one of the schools or societies of youth, he was beloved by Lysander, who much admired that ingenuous modesty which he found in him: for though he was one of the highest spirit and greatest bravery of any of his companions, was always ambitious of pre-eminence among them, towards which the impetuous vigour and fervour of his mind irresistibly carried him; yet on the other side he was so mild and gentle in his nature, that though he would do nothing from fear, yet from modesty he would do every thing that was injoined him, being more af-

fected with reproach than afraid of labour.

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He was lame of one leg; but this deformity was rendered less apparent by the beauty of his person when he was young; and the cheerfulness with which he supported his misfortune, and his readiness to jest upon it himself made amends for the defect. And indeed it was a strong argument of his love to glory, that, notwithstanding his lameness, he declined no labour in the pursuit of it. Neither his statue nor picture are extant, as he never allowed them in his life, and utterly forbade them to be made after his death. He is faid to have been little, and to have no great dignity of aspect; but his gaiety and vivacity, his agreeable convertation, and freedom from all moroseness and haughtiness either in his looks or expressions, made him more amiable, even in his old age, than those who were young and had the greatest advantages of perfon. However the Lacedæmonians had a fort of aversion to people of a low stature; and Theophrastus writes, that the Ephori laid a fine upon-Archidamus for marrying a little wife: For (faid they) she will bring us a race of pygmies instead of. kings.

In the reign of Agis the elder brother, Alcibiades (being then an exile from Athens) came from Sicily to Sparta. Before he had been long there, he was suspected of a familiarity with Timzea the queen; so that Agis refused to own a child of hers, declaring publicly that Alcibiades, and not he, was the father. Nor (if we may believe Duris the hiflorian) was Timæa much concerned at it, for she used to whisper among her servants, that the infant's true name was Alcibiades, not Leotychides. The fame historian adds, that Alcibiades himself did not scruple to fay, That he had not follicited Timæa out of a wantonness of desire, but from an ambition of having his posterity kings of Sparta. This affair obliged Alcibiades to leave Sparta for fear of Agis. But the child had not the honours due to a legitimate prince paid him, nor was he ever owned by Agis, till by his prayers and tears he prevailed with him to declare him his fon before witnesses upon his deathbed. But notwithstanding this, after the death of Agis, Lyfander who had lately conquered the Athenians in a fea-fight, and had great power in Sparta, promoted Agefilaus to the kingdom, urging Leotychides's baftardy as a bar to his pretentions.

Many of the Spartans, charmed with Agefilaus's virtue, and reckoning it no small advantage to have a king on the throne, who had been educated in the same manner as themselves, and had undergone with them all the severities of the Lacedæmonian discipline, were soon brought to declare for him.

There was at that time in Sparta a certain foothfayer named Diopithes, a man well versed in ancient prophecies, and held in great esteem among them for his knowledge of religion and skill in divination. He declared that it was not lawful for them to make a lame man king of Lacedæmon, citing to that purpose the following oracle:

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Though proud, O Sparta! Subject still to fate, Beware when steps unequal move the state; Lest war rush on thee, doom'd by war to bleed, And woes on woes an endless train succeed.

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But Lyfander alleged, that if the Spartans were scrupulous in obeying the oracle, they must beware of Leotychides; for it was not the limping foot of a king that the gods were offended at, but the admission of one who was not a descendent of Hercules, which would make the kingdom to halt indeed *. Agefilaus likewife added, that the baftardy of Leotychides was attested by Neptune, who threw Agis out of bed from his wife by a violent earthquake; after which time he did not cohabit with her; yet Leotychides was born above ten months after it +. Agefilaus upon these allegations was declared king, and foon poffessed himself of the private estate of Agis, as well as his throne, Leotychides being wholly rejected as a baftard. But feeing that the kindred of Agis by the mother's fide were persons of-worth and virtue, but very poor, he gave them half his brother's estate, and by this popular action gained the good-will, not of them only, but of the Spartans in general, and stifled that envy that was growing against him upon the account of his fuccession to the kingdom. Xenophon fays of him, That, by submitting to the laws of his country, he acquired such great power that he could do what he pleased; which is thus to be explained.

^{*} This explication of Lylander's is very ingenious, and appears probable.

[†] All this is taken out of the third book of Xenophon's Grecian history, where it is said Agesilaus opposed Leotychides with three invincible arguments. First, "Agis has declared that you are not his son." Secondly, "Your mother herself, who ought to know best, says even now that Agis was not your father;" and in the third place, "Neptune also is an evidence against you; for having one night forced Agis out of bed by the violent shock of an earthquake, the king abstained from her for ten months together, and you was born after the expiration of that term."

The chief power was lodged in the hands of the Ephori and fenate; the Ephori were annually chosen, but the senators held their places during life; both were instituted as bridles to restrain the too absolute power of the kings, as we have already mentioned in the life of Lycurgus *. Hence it was that the kings even from the first retained an hereditary aversion to them, and were always at variance with them. But Agefilaus took another course; instead of contending with them, he courted them. He always acted by their advice, and was always ready to go when they fent for him. If he were upon his throne hearing causes, and the Ephori came in, he arose to them. Whenever any man was elected into the fenate, he always prefented him with a gown and an ox, as a mark of diftinction. Thus, whilft he feemed to show respect and deference to their power, he fecretly advanced his own, and strengthened the prerogative by acquiring their good-will and friendship. To the other citizens he behaved in fuch a manner that he was less blameable in his enmities than in his friendships: for he never took any unjust advantage against his enemies; but to his friends he was partial beyond the rules of justice. If an enemy had done any thing praise-worthy, he scorned to detract from his due praise; but he knew not how to reprove his friends when they did ill; nay, he would even join with them, and affift them in their injustice. For he thought all offices of friendship commendable, let the matter wherein they were employed be what it would. When any of his adversaries were under a misfortune, he was the first to pity them, and readily gave them his affiftance when they asked it; by which means he became exceedingly popular, and captivated the hearts of all men. His popularity grew at last suspected by the Ephori; and they fined him as a monopolizer

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^{*} Vol. i. p. 171.—174.

of the citizens, who ought to be the common goods of the republic. For as it is the opinion of philofophers, that if all strife and opposition were removed out of the universe, all the heavenly bodies would stand still, and generation and motion cease, by reason of the mutual consent and agreement of all things; fo the Spartan legislator feems to have mingled ambition and emulation among the ingredients of his commonwealth, as the incentives of virtue, thinking that fuch a mutual compliance and forbearance as excluded all contention and reproof. was an indolent useless thing, not deferving the name of concord. Some think that Homer has this in view when he represents Agamemnon as well pleased with the contention of Ulysses and Achilles. and with the reproaches that passed between them *; which he would never have done, unless he had thought that the diffensions of great men were of use to the state. Yet this maxim is not to be granted without restriction; for if the heats grow too great, they are very dangerous and fatal to a commonwealth.

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Agefilaus was hardly entered upon the government, when news came from Afia, that the Perfian king was making great naval preparations to deprive the Spartans of their empire of the sea. Lysander was glad of this opportunity of succouring his friends in Afia, whom he had there left governours of the cities, and who for their male-administration and tyrannical behaviour had been deposed, and many of them put to death. He therefore persuaded Agesilaus to undertake the expedition, and by removing the war from Greece into Persia, to prevent the designs of the Barbarians. He also wrote to his friends in Asia, advising them to send an embassy to demand Agesilaus for their general. Agesilaus thereupon coming into the public assemble.

^{*} In the eighth book of the Odyffey.

bly, offered his fervice, upon condition that he might have thirty eminent Spartans for his lieutenants and counfellors, two thousand of the newly enfranchised Helots, and six thousand of the allies. Lysander's authority and affistance soon obtained this request; so that he was sent away with the thirty Spartans, of whom Lysander was the chief, not only in power and reputation, but also in friendship with Agesilaus, who esteemed his procuring him this charge a greater obligation than that of preferring him to the kingdom.

Whilst the army was assembling at Geræstus, Agesilaus went with some of his friends to Aulis,
where he dreamed that he heard a man speak to
him after this manner: O King of the Lacedæmonians,
you cannot but know that till now no one ever was declared
general of the Greeks but Agamemnon; and since you command the same men, make war against the same enemies,
and begin your expedition from the same place; you ought
also to offer such a sacrifice as he offered before he set

fail.

Agefilaus foon remembered that the facrifice which Agamemnon offered was his own daughter, he being fo directed by the oracle. However he was not at all diffurbed at it; but as foon as he arose, he told his dream to his friends, adding withal, that he would worship the goddess with such facrifices as would be acceptable to her as a goddess, and not imitate the rude barbarity of that general. He therefore ordered an hind to be crowned with chaplets, and delivered to his own foothfayer to be offered by him, refolving that the person, who, according to the custom of the country, had been named by the Bœotians to that office, should not perform the ceremony. When the Bœotian governours heard this, they were very much offended, and fent officers to Agefilaus, to forbid his facrificing contrary to the laws of the country. They having delivered their meffage to him, him, immediately went to the altar, and threw down the quarters of the hind that lay upon it. This gave great uneafiness to Agesilaus, who immediately hoisted sail, being highly incensed against the Bœotians, and much discouraged at this bad omen, which seemed to presage an unsuccessful voyage, and a bad issue of the whole expedition.

When he came to Ephefus, he found the power and interest of Lysander was unsufferably great all applications were made to him; great crouds of fuitors always attended at his door, all men following and paying their court to him, as if the name of general had for form's fake been given to Agefilaus, while the whole power and authority really refided in Lyfander. For none of all the command. ers that had been fent into Asia were ever so power ful or fo formidable as he; no one had rewarded his friends better, or had been more fevere against his enemies: and as these things had been lately done, they made the greater impression in mens minds; especially when they compared the easy and popular behaviour of Agefilaus with the stern and haughty carriage of Lyfander, and his short and churlish manner of speaking, by which he so subdued their spirits, that they wholly submitted to him, paying little regard to Agefilaus.. This first gave offence to the other captains, who could not without indignation fee themselves treated rather as the officers of Lyfander than the counfellors of the king. At length Agefilaus himfelf, who though he was no envious man in his nature, but well pleafed to fee honour conferred on merit, yet was highly jealous of his own glory, and full of courage and ambition, began to apprehend that Lyfander's greatness would soon eclipse his, and carry away from him the reputation of whatever great action should be performed. He therefore acted in this manner. He first opposed him in all his countels; whatever Lyfander advised with the greatest earnestness.

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earnestness, was rejected, and other proposals followed. Whoever made any petition to him was certainly denied, if Agefilaus found that he depended upon the interest of Lysander. Nay, even in judicial matters, they who were opposed by Lyfander were fure to gain their cause; and whoever was vifibly favoured by him, rarely escaped without being fined. These things being not done by chance, but constantly and on purpose, Lysander was soon fensible of them, and plainly told his friends, that they fuffered for his fake, bidding them apply to the king, and fuch as had more power with him than he had. By speaking in this manner he defigned to render Agesilaus odious; who therefore, to affront him still more, appointed him to the office of carver, and in a public company faid, Now whoever pleases may go and pay his court to my carver. Lyfander, no longer able to brook these indignities, complained at last to Agesilaus himself, telling him, that he knew better than any one how to disgrace his friends. To which Agesilaus replied, I know who they are that pretend to more power than myfelf. That, replied Lyfander, is rather faid by you, than done by me; but I desire only this favour of you, that you will assign me some office and place in which I may ferve you without incurring your displeasure.

Upon this Agefilaus fent him to the Hellespont on an embassy, where he prevailed on Spithridates a Persian in the province of Pharnabazus, to come to the assistance of the Greeks with two hundred horse, and a great supply of money. However he always retained his resentment for the indignities he had received, so that he formed a design of wresting the kingdom out of the hands of the two samilies which then enjoyed it, and making it wholly elective, thereby leaving the throne open to any Spartan who had merit enough to pretend to it *. And it is thought he would have occa*See this further explained in the life of Lysander, vol. 3. p. 224.

fioned

sioned great commotions in the state, if he had not died in the expedition into Bœotia. So dangerous are ambitious spirits in a state when they transgress the just bounds, and so much the greater is the mischief than the good which they produce. For though Lysander's pride was unsufferable, and his ambition very unseasonable, yet might Agesilaus have found out some method of correcting him, less reproachful to a man of his merit and reputation, whose greatest fault was his ambition. Indeed in my opinion they were both equally guilty, and both blinded by the same passion; so that the one would not pay the submission due to his prince, nor the other bear with the impersections of his friend.

Tisaphernes being at first afraid of Agesilaus, concluded a truce with him, making him believe that the king his mafter would relinquish to him the Grecian cities, and fet them at liberty. But foon after finding a fufficient force drawn together, he refolved upon war; at which Agefilaus was overjoyed *. For the expectation from this expedition was great; and he did not think it for his honour, that Xenophon with ten thousand men should march through the heart of Asia to the sea, beating the Persian forces, when and how he pleased, and that Agefilaus, at the head of the army of the Spartans, (who then commanded both at fea and land), should raise no monument of his fame among the Grecians by any great action. He therefore revenged the perjury of Tisaphernes by a lawful stratagem. He pretended to march into Caria, whither when he had drawn Tifaphernes and his

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^{*} All his officers were exceedingly concerned at it, for they thought they had not a strength sufficient to withstand the formidable forces of the king of Persia; but Agessiaus on the contrary was highly pleased with it; he received the ambassadors from Tisaphernes with a gay countenance, and ordered them to tell their master, that he was much obliged to him, for that by this violation of his oath he had made the gods enemies to Persia, and friends to the Grecians.

army, he suddenly turned back, and invaded Phrygia, where he took many cities, and carried away a great booty. Upon this occasion he convinced his friends that to break a solemn league is to affront the gods; but that to deceive and circumvent an enemy in war, is not only just but honourable, and very agreeable as well as advanta-

geous.

Being weak in cavalry, and being also terrified by an ill omen in the facrifices, the liver being found to want that lobe which the foothfayers call the head, he retired to Ephefus; where he declared to those that were wealthy, that if they were not inclined to follow him, and ferve in person, he would excuse them upon their finding each of them a man and horfe. A great many of them accepted of the proposition; fo that he soon found his army strengthened not with a number of timo. rous rich men, but with a confiderable body of refolute cavalry. For those who were averse to fighting themselves, hired such as were more martial in their inclinations, and fuch as loved not to ferve on horseback, substituted in their place such as did. He professed in this to imitate the laudable example of Agamemnon, who took the prefent of an excellent mare, to excuse a rich coward from ferving in the army *.

When, by Agesilaus's order, the prisoners he had taken in Phrygia were exposed to sale, they were first stripped of their garments, and then sold naked. The cloaths found many buyers; but the bodies being, by the ease they had always lived in, rendered white and tender, were decided and scorned as unserviceable. Agesilaus who stood by at the

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^{*} Plutarch has taken this from the twenty-third book of the Iliad, where Homer fays Echepolus the fon of Anchifes the Grecian gave Agamemnon a fine mare, that he might be excused from going to the war, and be allowed to pass his time in the full enjoyment of those pleasures that abounded in the city of Sicyon.

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The proper feafon of the year being come, he gave out that he would invade Lydia; which plain dealing of his was mistaken for a stratagem by Tifaphernes, who by not believing Agefilaus, because he had been already deceived by him, over-reached himself. He expected that he would have made choice of Caria, that being a rough country, not fit for horse, in which he deemed Agefilaus to be weak. But when he found him to be as good as his word, and that he was entered into the plains of Sardis, he then was forced to march in all hafte to fuccour that place. As he came up with his cavalry, he cut off several of the stragglers from Agefilaus's army, who were roaming up and down the country for pillage. Agefilaus in the mean time confidering that the enemies horse had outrid the foot, but that he himfelf had the whole body of his army entire, made hafte to engage them. He mingled his light-armed foot with the horse, commanding them to begin the battle, whilft he brought up the heavy-armed foldiers. The Barbarians were put to flight, and the Grecians purfuing them close, took their camp, and put many of them to the fword. The confequence of this victory was, that they not only had the liberty of foraging in the Persian provinces, and of plundering them at pleafure, but also faw Tisaphernes pay dearly for all the cruelty he had showed the Greeks. to whom he was a professed enemy. For the King of Persia soon sent another to succeed him, named Tithraustes, who cut off his head, and proposing an accommodation to Agefilaus, * fent him by his ambaffadors

^{*} Tithraustes sent his ambassadors to Agesilaus, to let him know that the king his master having caused the author of the war to be punished as he deserved, restored the Greek cities in Asia to their liber-

baffadors large fums of money to induce him to it, and to perfuade him to return into Greece. Agefilaus answered, That the making peace belonged to the Lacedamonians, not to him; that as for wealth, he had rather see it in his soldiers hands than his own; that the Grecians thought it not honourable to enrich themselves. with the bribes of their enemies, but with their spoils only. Yet, that he might gratify Tithraustes for the justice he had done upon Tifaphernes the avowed enemy of the Greeks, he removed his army into Phrygia, accepting of thirty talents towards the charge of it. Whilft he was upon his march, he received a letter from the council of Sparta, by which he was constituted admiral as well as general. He was the first man on whom the Spartans had conferred that honour, and indeed no one had fo well deferved it. For he was confessedly (as Theopompus somewhere says) a person of the highest reputation of any of his contemporaries, and yet he chose rather to derive his grandeur from his virtue than his authority. However he committed a great fault, in preferring Pifander to the command of the navy, when there were many officers at hand both older and wifer; in this not fo much confulting the public good, as the gratification of his kindred, and especially his wife, whose brother Pifander was.

Having removed his camp into Pharnabazus's province, he not only met with great plenty of provisions, but also raised great sums of money; and marching on to Paphlagonia, he soon drew Cotys, the king of it, into a league, to which he of his own accord inclined, out of the esteem he had of Agesilaus's honour and virtue.

Spithridates, who had quitted Pharnabazus's fervice before, and joined Agefilaus, never left him,

ty, upon condition that they paid the established tribute, and that he hoped this condescension in the king would persuade him to accept the peace, and return home.

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but accompanied him where-ever he went. He had a fon named Megabates, a youth of great beauty, of whom Agefilaus was enamoured, and a very beautiful daughter, who was marriageable. Her Agefilaus matched to Cotys; and taking of him a thoufand horse, with two thousand light-armed foot, he returned into Phrygia, and there pillaged the country of Pharnabazus, who durst not stand him in the field, nor yet trust to his garrisons; but carrying with him his jewels and the richest of his treasures, he retreated from place to place, till Spithridates being joined with Herippidas the Spartan *, took his camp, and feized all his treasure. Herippidas, by inquiring too feverely into the plunder which the Barbarians had taken, and by forcing them to deliver it up, so disobliged Spithridates, that he changed fides again, and went off with the Paphlagonians to Sardis. It is faid, that Agefilaus was more fenfibly touched with this than with any thing that happened in the whole course of the expedition, not only because he had lost the friendship of a valiant commander, and with him a confiderable number of men, but because he lay under the reproach of fordid covetousness, of which he always was folicitous to clear both himfelf and his country. Beside these public causes of his concern, he had a private one, which was his love to Megabates. He had always, however, endeavoured with the utmost resolution to suppress it, especially in presence of the boy; so that when Megabates once offered to falute and kiss him, he declined The youth being much abashed at the repulse, grew more referved, and from that time faluted him at a greater distance; at which Agefilaus was

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^{*} This Herippidas was one of the new council of thirty, whom the Spartans had fent to Agefilaus in the fecond year of his command; for that council was removed annually, and Herippidas was placed at the head of this fecond, as Lysander had been named first in the former commission.

much concerned, and repenting his coyness, he pretended to wonder why he did not falute him with the like familiarity as formerly. His friends about him answered, You, Sir, are in fault, you who durst not the other day stand the kiss of so beautiful a youth, but avoided it as if you had been frighted at him. He might soon be persuaded to come nearer, and accost you as formerly; but take care you do not shun him again. Upon this Agefilaus paufed a while, and at length answered, You need not encourage him to a repetition of that kindness; I had rather be master of myself in the refusal of that kifs, than possess all the gold that my eyes ever beheld. Thus he behaved to Megabates whilst he remained with him; but fo strong was his passion for him when he was gone, that I question whether if he had returned, all the virtue he had could have in-

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duced him to fuch another refusal. Some time after this, Pharnabazus fought an opportunity of conferring with Agefilaus, which Apollophanes of Cyzicus, the common host of them both, procured for him. Agefilaus coming first to the appointed place with his friends, threw himself down upon the grass under a tree, where he waited for Pharnabazus, who brought with him foft skins and rich carpets to lie down upon; but when he faw Agefilaus's posture, he was ashamed of them, and laid himself down upon the grass also, though he was dreffed in a robe of an extremely fine texture and very richly dyed. Pharnabazus had matter enough of complaint against Agesilaus, and therefore, after the mutual civilities were over, he put him in mind of the great services he had done the Lacedæmonians, in the Attic war, of which he thought it an ill recompense, to have his country thus haraffed and spoiled by those men who had been so obliged to him. The Spartans that were about Agefilaus hung down their heads, as ashamed of the wrong they had done to Pharnabazus. But the king answered, We, O Pharnabazus, when we were

were in amity with the king of Persia, behaved like friends; but now when we are at war with him, we behave as enemies. As for you, we look upon you as his servant; we therefore molest you only that we may burt him. But whenever you will chuse rather to be a friend to the Grecians, than a flave of the king of Persia, you may then reckon this army and navy to be all at your command, to defend both you and your country, together with your liberties, without which there is nothing honourable or desirable among men. Upon this Pharnabazus difcovered his mind, and answered, If the king should fend another governour in my room, I will certainly come over to you; but as long as he trusts me with the government, I shall be just to him, and not fail to use my utmost endeavours to oppose you. Agesilaus was pleased with this answer; and taking hold of his hand and rising up, he said, How much do I wish that such a man was my friend rather than my enemy *!

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Thus ended the conference, and Pharnabazus retired; but his fon staying behind, ran up to Agefilaus, and faid with a smile, Agefilaus, I from this day am bound with you in the sacred ties of hospitality; and then presented him with a javelin which he had in his hand. Agefilaus received it, and being much taken with the good mien and politeness of the youth, looked about to fee if there were any thing in his train fit to offer him in return; and observing the horse of Adæus, his secretary, to have very fine trappings, he took them off, and bestowed them upon the youth. Nor did his kindness rest there, but he was ever after mindful of him, fo that when he was driven out of his country by his brethren, and lived an exile in Peloponnesus, he took great care of his maintenance,

^{*} This way not all. Agesilaus added, In the mean time he affured that we will immediately march out of the provinces under your government; and for the future if we must remain in a state of war, so long as there is any other to keep our arms in exercise, we will leave you unmolested. Ken. lib. 4.

and even condescended to affift him in his amours. For he happened to fall in love with a youth of Athens, who had been bred up to his exercises, in order to contend for the prize in the Olympic games; but as he was well grown, he had like to have been refused when he offered himself to be entered among the other competitors *. The young prince therefore applied to Agefilaus, who undertook the business for him, and with much difficulty fucceeded. He was in all other things a man of exact justice; but when the interest of a friend was concerned, he thought that to be rigorously just was only a colourable pretence for denying him. There is an epiftle written to Idrieus, the Carian, which is ascribed to Agesilaus; it is this: If Nicias be innocent, absolve bim; if he be guilty, absolve him upon my account; however be sure to absolve him. And indeed this was the true character of Agefilaus, as to his deportment towards his friends. Yet fometimes he confidered the necessity of his own affairs more than his friends, of which he once gave an example. Being obliged to decamp in great hafte and diforder, he was forced to leave his favourite youth behind him; and when he called aloud after him, and implored his help, Agefilaus turning back, faid, What an hard thing is it, to love and to be wife at the fame time? This story is told by Hieronymus the philosopher.

Another year of the war being spent, Agesilaus's fame still increased, so that his temperance, his candour, and moderation were highly celebrated even in the remoter provinces of Persia. When he took any journey with his private retinue, he usually lodged in a temple, making the gods witnesses of his most private actions, with which others would scarce permit men to be acquainted. In so great an army there was scarcely a common soldier

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^{*} For sometimes combats of boys were exhibited; and those who were arrived at a certain age were excluded out of the lists.

who lay on a harder bed than Agefilaus; and he was so inured to the varieties of heat and cold, that both seemed natural to him. The Greeks that inhabited Asia, were much pleased to see the Persian governours and generals, who from their wealth and luxury were before intolerably proud and insolent, now standing in awe of a man that went about in an old coarse cloak, with wonderful ductility changing their manners and appearance on the least intimation of his will, and suffering all their motions to be guided by his concise laconic orders. It put them in mind of that verse in Timotheus,

To Mars the pow'r belongs, Greece fears not gold.

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As many parts of Asia now revolted from the Perfians, Agefilaus fettled the affairs of the feveral cities, and regulated their government, without the death or banishment of one fingle person. He then refolved to quit the fea-fide, to march further up into the country, to attack the king of Persia himfel in the midst of his pleasures in his cities of Susa and Echatane, and not to allow him leifure to fit as an idle spectator of the wars of others, hiring by his presents the several states of Greece to destroy each other, and bribing their orators to fecond his pernicious defigns. But in the mean time Epicydidas the Spartan arrived, with news that Sparta was involved in a Grecian war, and with an order from the Ephori for Agefilaus to return home and affift his own country.

O Greeks, inventors of Barbarian ills!

For what better can we fay of that envy and hatred, and those intestine divisions, which destroyed the fortune of Greece, and called her back from her full career of victory over the Barbarians, only to sheath her sword in her own bowels? For I can by no means affent to Demaratus of Corinth, who said, That those Grecians were deprived of a great satisfied.

YOLALY.

Here faction,

faction, who did not live to see Alexander set on the throne of Darius. That fight should rather have drawn tears from them, when they considered, that they had left that glory to Alexander and the Macedonians, whilst they destroyed all their own great commanders in the fields of Leuctra, Coronea, Corinth, and Arcadia.

No part of Agefilaus's conduct was greater than his behaviour on this occasion; nor can a nobler instance be found in history, of a ready obedience. and just deference to his country. Hannibal, though unfuccessful and almost driven out of Italy, yet could ly be prevailed on to return when his country was involved in a war at home. And Alexander made a jest of the battle between Agis and Antipater, faying to his friends, Whilft we are conquering Darius in Asia, it seems there is a battle of mice in Arcadia. How happy then was Sparta in the obedience and respect which Agefilaus showed to the laws of his country? For immediately upon receiving his orders, though in the midst of his good fortune, and in full hope of great and glorious fuccess, he left his work unfinished, and instantly departed, leaving his friends in Afia very forrowful for the loss of him, and having abundantly confuted the faying of Demaratus the Phocian. That the Lacedæmonians excelled in their public transactions, but that the Athenians were better observers of private friendship. For as he approved himself an excellent king and general, he showed himself still more to be a defirable friend, and agreeable companion.

The coin of Persia was stamped on one side with the figure of an archer; which made Agestiaus say, That ten thousand Persian archers had driven him out of Asia; that sum having been laid out in bribing the orators in Thebes and Athens*, whereby those two 7

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^{*} Xenophon tells us, that Tithraustes sent Timocrates of Rhodes with sifty talents into Greece, which he distributed at Thebes, Argos, and Corinth; but he adds, that Athens had no share in that distribution.

republics were incited to make war with Sparta. Having croffed the Hellespont, he marched without asking leave of any of the Barbarians; he only fent messengers through Thrace to them, to demand whether they would have him pass through their country as a friend or as an enemy. All the rest received him as a friend, and used him with the greatest civility: but the Trallians (of whom Xerxes is faid to have bought his passage) demanded of him a hundred talents of filver, and a hundred of his women. Agefilaus in reply only asked the messengers ironically, Why their masters were not come with them to receive it? In the mean time he marched on, and finding them drawn up to oppose him, he attacked them, put them to flight, and flew great numbers of them. He fent the like embaffy to the king of Macedonia, who replied, He would take time to deliberate. Why then let him deliberate, faid Agefilaus, we will go forward in the mean time. The Macedonian being furprifed and daunted at the refolution of the Spartan king, defired him to pass through his country as a friend. When he came into Theffaly, he laid wafte the country, because the Thessalians were in league with the enemy. He fent Xenocles and Scytha to Lariffa, to perfuade the inhabitants to join with the Spartans; but the Lariffæans seized and imprisoned them; and when the army was enraged, and advised him to besiege the town, he answered, That he valued either of those men at more than the whole country of Thessaly. He therefore made terms with them, and received his men again upon composition. Nor need we wonder at that faying of Agefilaus; for when fome time before news was brought him that a great battle had been fought near Corinth, wherein many brave men fell, but that the loss of the enemy was infinitely greater than that of the Spartans, he appeared not in the least pleased H 2

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or elated with the victory, but with a deep fight cried out, O Greece, how many gallant men hast thou with thy own hands destroyed, who, if they had been preserved, might have conquered all the Barbarians! Yet when the Pharsalians harassed his army, and incommoded his passage, he drew out five hundred horse, and in person fought and routed them, and set up a trophy at Mount Narthacium. He valued himself much upon that victory, because, with so small a number of his own training, he had vanquished an army of men, who thought themselves the best horsemen in Greece.

Here Diphridas, one of the Ephori, met him, and ordered him immediately to make an inroad into Bœotia. Though he thought it would have been better to have delayed this, and to have done it with a greater force, yet he obeyed the magistrates, and told his foldiers, that the day was come when they were to enter upon that employment, on the account of which they were brought out of Asia. He then sent for two cohorts of the army near Corinth to his assistance; and the Lacedæmonians at home, in honour to him, made proclamation for volunteers that would serve under the king, to come in and be listed. Finding that all the inhabitants readily offered themselves, the magistrates chose fifty of the ablest, and sent them.

Agefilaus having passed Thermopylæ, and marched through Phocis, which was in friendship with Sparta, entered Bœotia, and encamped near Chæronea. Just at that time there happened an eclipse of the sun *, and news was likewise brought that Pisander had been defeated by Pharnabazus and Conon, in a sea-engagement near Cnidos, and that he himself was slain. He was much grieved at this both on account of his own loss, and that of

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^{*} This eclipse happened on the twenty-ninth of August, in the third year of the ninety sixth Olympiad, three hundred ninety-two years before the incarnation.

the public. Yet lest his army, being now near engaging, should be discouraged at the news, he ordered the messengers to give out that Pisander had obtained the victory; and he himself appeared in public with a garland on his head, and returned thanks for the success in a solemn facrifice, of which

he fent portions to his friends.

When he came near to Coronea, and was within view of the enemy, he drew up his army, and giving the left wing to the Orchomenians, he himfelf led the right. The Thebans drew up their army likewife, forming the right wing themselves, and affigning the left to the Argives. Xenophon, who was present at this battle, fighting near Agesilaus, with whom he returned out of Asia, tells us, that it was the sharpest engagement that had hape

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The first charge was neither violent nor lasting; for the Thebans foon rouved the Orchomenians, as Agefilaus did the Argives. But both parties being informed of the condition their left wings were in, turned about instantly to relieve them. Here Agefilaus might have been fure of his victory with out any risk, if he would have suffered the Thebans to pass, and so have charged them in the rear; but fuch was his eagerness and fury, that he would not wait for the opportunity, but attacked them in front, thinking to bear them down before. him. The Thebans were not behind him in courage, so that the battle grew very warm on both fides, especially near Agesilaus's person, whose new guard of fifty volunteers flood him in great flead that day, and faved his life. They fought with great valour, and exposed themselves to the utmost danger in his defence; they could not however prevent him from receiving many wounds through his armour with lances and fwords. At last making a ring about him, they with great difficulty brought him off alive, after having killed many of the enes H 3

my, and lost many of their own number. At length finding it too hard a task to break the front of the Theban army, they were obliged to have recourse to an artisice, which in the beginning they scorned; for now they opened their ranks, and suffered the Thebans to pass through; and observing that they marched in a disorderly manner, they turned upon them, and attacked them in flank and rear. They could not however totally rout the Thebans, who marched on to Helicon, boasting, that their part of the army was yet unconquered.

Agefilaus, though much weakened by the many wounds he had received, would not retire to his tent, till he had been first carried about the field, and had seen the dead men of his army carried off in their armour. Being told that several of the enemy had taken sanctuary in the temple of Minerva the Itonian, which stood hard by, he ordered them to be dismissed in safety. Before this temple stood a trophy erected by the Bœotians, for a victory formerly obtained by them over the Athenians under the conduct of Sparton, wherein Tolmidas

the Athenian general was flain.

Next morning early Agesilaus, being willing to try whether the Thebans would renew the engagement, commanded his soldiers to put garlands on their heads, and the musicians to play on their flutes, whilst he erected a trophy as conqueror. But when, instead of fighting, the enemy asked leave to bury their dead, he gave it them, and so confirmed to himself the victory. After this he went to Delphi, to the Pythian games which were then celebrating, at which feast he afsisted, and there solemnly offered to the gods an hundred talents, which was the tenth part of the spoils he had brought from Asia.

When he returned to Sparta, he was greatly beloved and admired by the citizens for his temperance and frugality in his diet and manner of living.

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For, contrary to the custom of other generals, he came home the fame man that he went out, not having learned to admire the fashions of other countries, and to flight and reject those of his own. He paid as much respect to the Spartan customs as if he had never passed over the Eurotas; he made no alteration in the manner of his supping or bathing, in his wife's apparel, in his household furniture, in his armour, nor even in the doors of his house, which were so old, that they might well be thought to be the same with those that had so long ago been fet up by Aristodemus *. And Xenophon affures us that his daughter's chariot (called the Canathrum) was no richer than that of others. This Canathrum was a vehicle made of wood, in the shape of a griffin, or some other animal of a strange uncommon figure, in which the young virgins were carried in the processions. Xenophon has not left us the name of this daughter of Agefilaus; and Dicæarchus is much displeased that we know not the names either of the daughter of Agefilaus, or of Epaminondas's mother. But in the ancient inscriptions which may be seen at Sparta, it appears that Agefilaus's wife was called Cleora, and that he had two daughters whose names were Apolia and Prolyta. The Spartans likewise to this day show his spear, which is in nothing different from that of other men.

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Observing that many of his citizens valued themfelves upon breeding horses for the chariot-races in the Olympic games, he perfuaded his fifter Cynisca to place herself in a chariot, and to contend for the prize, being desirous to convince the Grecians that these victories were not obtained by strength or courage, but by wealth and expense.

^{*} This Aristodemus the son of Hercules was the sounder of the royal family in Sparta, eleven hundred years before the incarnation; so that the gates of Agesilaus's palace had been standing seven hundred and eight years, at his return after the victory gained at Chæronea.

He had near his person the wise Xenophon, whom he highly esteemed and respected. He persuaded him to send for his children to Sparta, there to be brought up, and to be taught the most valuable of all sciences, how to command, and how

to obev.

Lyfander being dead, and his faction yet great and prevalent, which upon his return from Afia he had raifed against Agesilaus, the king thought it advisable to show publicly what fort of a citizen he had been whilfthe lived. And finding an oration among his writings, that was composed by Cleon the Halicarnaffean, and intended to be spoken by Lyfander in a public affembly, to excite the people to make innovations in the government, he refolved to publish it. But one of the fenators having the perufal of it, and finding it strongly written, advised him not to dig up Lyfander again, but rather to bury that oration in the grave with him. This advice he hearkened to, and suppressed the oration. As for his enemies, he used no open means to suppress them, but on the contrary made use of all his interest to obtain for them either the command of the armies, or some other considerable post in the government. This gave them an opportunity of manifesting their avarice and dishonesty; and if at any time they were called to account for their ill practices, he folicited for them, and patronized them, by which he brought them over to his interest, and of avowed enemies made them his firm friends; fo that in a short time there was not one left to oppose his measures. For as to Agesipolis the other king, he was the fon of an exiled father, was very young, modest, inactive, and concerned himself but little with public affairs. Agesilaus contrived to make him yet more tractable. cording to the custom of Sparta, the kings if they were in town always dined together. Agefilaus knowing that Agefipolis was not less disposed to love

Sparta,

love than himself, continually turned the discourse upon some of the most amiable youths in the city, and at last brought him to fix his affection on a favourite of his own, and was both his companion and affistant in his love. For this love among the Spartans had nothing in it that was shameful or vitious, but was always accompanied with virtue and honour, and a noble emulation of rendering those they loved still more amiable and virtuous, as we have already observed in the life of Lycur-

gus.

Having thus increased and established his power, he eafily obtained that his half-brother Teleutias might be chosen admiral; after which he marched with his land-forces against Corinth *, where he made himself master of the long walls, whilst his brother besieged it by sea. The Argives were then in possession of Corinth, and were in the midst of their Ishmian games, when he came upon them, and made them retire from their facrifices, and leave all their festival preparations behind them. The exiled Corinthians who were in the Spartan army defired him to proceed in the folemnity, and to prefide at it himself. This he refused, but gave them leave to celebrate it, and he in the mean time staid and guarded them. When Agefilaus retired, the Argives returned to their sports again. Some who were victors before, conquered a fecond time, and others loft the prizes which before they had gained. But Agefilaus feverely reproached the Argives for cowardice, who having fo great a veneration for the Isthmian games, and so much valuing themselves upon the victories there obtained, yet durst not fight in defence of them. He himself was of opinion, that a moderate degree of regard for fuch things was best. Accordingly when he was at

^{*} Plutarch in this place confounds two expeditions undertaken by Agesilaus against Corinth, and makes but one of both. Xenophon has distinguished them very clearly in his fourth book.

Sparta, he affifted with great zeal and affiduity at the public games and festivals. Nor would he ever be absent from any of the exercises of the young men and the girls. But for those other amusements, in which he saw most men so deeply engaged, he affected even to be a stranger to them. Callipides the tragic actor, who was very eminent through all Greece, one day met Agefilaus and faluted him; he then confidently thrust himself intohis train, expecting that the king would take fome notice of him, and pay him some compliment. At last he asked the king, Whether he knew him or not? What, replied he, art thou Callipides the stage-player? Being invited once to hear a man who admirably imitated the nightingale, he refused, faying, That be had heard the nightingale herself. There was one Menecrates a physician, who having been famed for furprifing fuccess in the cure of some desperate difeases, was called fupiter: he was so vain as to accept the title, and having occasion to write a letter to Agefilaus, directed it thus; Menecrates Jupiter to Agefilaus, greeting. The king returned anfwer, Agesilaus to Menecrates, health, and a right mind.

Whilft Agefilaus was in the Corinthian territories, where he had taken the temple of Juno, he one day stood to observe his foldiers feizing the flaves as they came out of the temple, and carrying off the plunder, when some Theban ambassadors. came to him to treat of peace. He having ever had a great aversion for their city, and thinking it then advantageous to his affairs publicly to flight them, pretended not to fee them, nor to hear them fpeak. But heaven immediately revenged this infult; for before they parted from him, he received news that a body of his troops was defeated by Iphicrates. This was the greatest loss that the Spartans had fuffered for a long time; for a great number of brave men were killed, and what added to the difgrace was, that heavy-armed Lacedæmonians were defeated.

defeated by light-armed mercenaries. Agefilaus made all the hafte he could to their refcue, but came too late. He therefore returned to Juno's temple, and fent for the Theban ambaffadors to give them audience. They now refolved to return the affront he had offered them, and without making any mention of the peace, only defired leave to go into Corinth. Agefilaus being enraged at this, answered, That if they were desirous to go and fee how proud their friends were of their success, they should do it to-morrow with fafety. Next morning taking the ambaffadors with him, he ravaged the Corinthian territories, up to the very gates of the city; where having let the ambaffadors fee that the Corinthians durst not come out to defend themselves. he dismissed them; then taking with him all those who had escaped after the defeat, he marched homewards, always removing his camp before day, and pitching his tents after night came on, that he might prevent the Arcadians, who hated the Spartans, from taking any opportunity of infulting over their loss.

After this, at the request of the Achæans *, he marched with them into Acarnania, from whence he brought a great quantity of plunder, and overcame the Acarnanians in battle. The Achæans would have perfuaded him to keep his winter-quarters there, to hinder the Acarnanians from sowing their corn; but he was of the contrary opinion, alleging that they would be more afraid of a war the next summer, if their fields were sown, than they would be if they lay fallow. The event justified his

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^{*} The Achæans were in possession of the city of Calydon, which formerly belonged to Ætolia. The Acarnanians being assisted by the Athenians and Bæotians attempted to make themselves masters of it, and drive out the garrison placed in it by the Achæans, who finding themselves in danger, sent and demanded succours from the Lacedæmonians, who dispatched Agesilaus with some troops to their assistance. Xenophon in his fourth book has given us a full account of this expedition.

opinion; for the next year, when the Achæans began their expedition again, the Acarnanians imme-

diately made peace with them.

When Conon and Pharnabagus with the Persian navy were become mafters of the fea, and had not only infested the coast of Laconia, but also rebuilt the walls of Athens, at the cost of Pharnabazus. the Lacedæmonians thought fit to treat of peace with the king of Persia. To that end they sent Antalcidas to Teribazus, basely betraying the Asiatic Greeks, on whose behalf Agefilaus had made war *. But no part of this dishonour fell upon Agesilaus, the whole being transacted by Antalcidas, who was a bitter enemy of Agefilaus, and was therefore defirous to conclude a peace, because he knew that war increased Agesilaus's reputation and authority. But, notwithstanding this, when a certain person said, That the Lacedæmonians were turning Medes, Agefilaus replied, No, the Medes are turning Lacedamomians. And when the Grecians were backward to the agreement, he threatened them with war, unless they consented to the king of Persia's terms. Agefilaus had a particular end in this, which was to weaken the I hebans; for it was one of the articles of peace, that the country of Bœotia should be fet at liberty, which was then under the dominion of Thebes t.

This hatred of his to Thebes appeared further afterwards, when Phœbidas in time of peace very dishonourably seized upon the castle of Cadmea. This very much incensed all the Grecians, and was disapproved even by the Lacedæmonians themselves; those especially who were enemies to Age-

† Xenophon has inferted in his fifth book the articles of this peace

negotiated by Antalcidas.

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^{*} Antalcidas told Teribazus in his first audience, that the Lacedæmonians were not solicitous to maintain the liberty of the Greek cities in Asia, in opposition to the king of Persia, but would be contented if the other cities and the islands remained independent. Xemph. lib. iv.

filaus, highly refented it, and asked Phæbidas by whose authority it was done, turning the suspicion of it against Agesilaus, who resolutely answered on the behalf of Phœbidas, That the profitableness of an action was chiefly to be considered; that what was for the advantage of the commonwealth ought to be done whether there were any orders given for it or not. This was the more remarkable in him, because in his converfation he always recommended justice as the chief of the virtues, faying, That valour without justice was useless; and if all men were just, there would be no need of valour. When any faid to him, The great king will have it so; he would reply, How is he greater than I, unless he be juster? Thus he represented justice as that royal measure by which true greatness is to be estimated. The peace being concluded, the king of Persia wrote to Agesilaus, desiring a private friendship with him; but he refused it, saying, That the public friendship was enough; whilst that lasted, there was no need of private. But he did not always act agreeably to these sentiments, being frequently hurried away by ambition or refentment. Particularly, in this case of the Thebans, he not only faved Phœbidas, but perfuaded the Lacedæmonians to take the fault upon themselves, to keep possession of Cadmea, and to make Archias and Leontidas, by whom the castle had been betrayed, chief governours in Thebes. This gave strong fufpicion, that what Phoebidas did was by Agefilaus's order, which was afterwards made evident by the consequences. For when the Athenians had expelled the garrifon, and had fet the Thebans at liberty, he accused them of the murder of Archias and Leontidas, (whom he called Polemarchs, though in reality they were tyrants), and declared war against them on that account. Cleombrotus the other king, fuccessor of Agesipolis lately deceased, was fent at the head of an army into Bœotia; Agesilaus excusing himself on account of his age, for it was VOL. IV. forty

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forty years fince he had first borne arms, and the laws consequently exempted him from any further service. But there was another reason, which made him decline the command. He thought it would be a shame for him, who had not long before made war upon the Phliasians in favour of exiles, to march now against the Thebans in behalf of tyrants.

One Sphodrias of Lacedæmon, who was of the faction opposite to Agesilaus, was at that time governour of Thespiæ, a man not void of courage or ambition, but full of vain hopes and of little indement. This action of Phoebidas fired him to attempt some great enterprise, which might render him as famous as he perceived the taking of Cadmea had made Phœbidas. He thought the taking of the Piræus, and cutting off the Athenians from the fea. a matter of far more glory. It is faid, that Pelopidas and Melon the governours of Bœotia put him upon it *. They privately fent some men to him. who pretended to be in the Spartan interest. These men highly commended Sphodrias, and extolled him as the only man in the world fit for fo great an enterprise. Being thus encouraged and elated by their praises, he engaged in an undertaking as dishonourable and treacherous as that at Cadmea, but conducted with less valour and attended with less fuccess. For the day broke whilst he was yet in the plains of Thriafium; whereas he defigned that the whole exploit should have been done in the night. As foon as the foldiers perceived the rays of light reflected from the temples of Eleusis upon the first rising of the sun, it is said,

^{*} The Thebans fearing the Lacedæmonians would be too strong for them, if they had not some other assistance, persuaded Sphodrias to commit this act of hostility against the Athenians on purpose to draw them into the quarrel. This is what we find in the fifth book of Xenophon. But that author makes no mention either of Pelopidas, or Melon. Plutarch has given us a full account of this whole affair in the life of Pelopidas.

that their hearts failed them; nay, he himself, when he saw that he could not have the benefit of the hight, had not courage enough to go on with his enterprise; but, having spent a little time in pillaging the country, he returned with shame to Thespiæ. An embassy was upon this sent from Athens to Sparta, to complain of this breach of the peace; but the ambassadors found their journey needless, Sphodrias being then under a capital prosecution from the magistrates of Sparta. Sphodrias durst not abide the issue of the trial, through fear of the resentment of the citizens, who were ashamed of the transaction, and were desirous to appear to have been wronged themselves, that the Athenians might not suspect them of having been accessory to the

injury which had been offered to them.

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This Sphodrias had a fon named Cleonymus, who was young and handsome, and who was beloved by Archidamus the fon of Agefilaus. It may eafily be imagined that Archidamus fympathifed with hisfriend in the great trouble and anxiety he felt on his father's account; but yet he durst not publicly give Sphodrias any affiftance, as he was one of the profeffed enemies of Agefilaus. At last Cleonymus went to him, and importuned him with tears to prevail with the king to deal favourably with his father, for he of all the profecutors was the most formidable. Archidamus had not the courage to fpeak to his father for three or four days together, but followed him up and down in a profound filence. At last when the time approached for pronouncing the fentence, he adventured to tell him, that Cleonymus had entreated him to intercede for Sphodrias. Agefilaus, though he knew of the love between the two young men, yet did not prohibit it, because he looked upon Cleonymus as a youth of extraordinary merit, and of great hopes. He did not however by his answer give his fon any ground to expect that he would be favourable to Sphodrias: Sphodrias; he only told him, That he would consider what he could honourably do in the affair, and fo difmiffed him. Archidamus being ashamed of his. want of success, avoided the company of Cleonymus for some time, though he used to see him several times in a day. This made the friends of Sphodrias think his case desperate, till Etymocles one of Agefilaus's friends discovered to them the king's. mind, and told them, That he abhorred the fact, but yet he thought Sphodrias a brave man, fuch as the commonwealth much wanted at that time. Agefilaus used. every where to talk thus concerning the cause, being willing to gratify his fon; upon which Cleonymus quickly understood that Archidamus had been just to him, in using all his interest with his father: and Sphodrias's friends took courage, and exerted themselves in his defence. Agesilaus was indeed very fond of his children; and it is reported, that when they were little, he would make a hobbyhorse of a reed, and ride with them. Being one day surprised at this sport by a friend, he defired. him to fay nothing of it, till he himself should have children ..

When the Athenians heard that Sphodrias was acquitted, they immediately took arms; and Agefilaus fell into great difgrace with the people, for having, in order to gratify the foolish inclinations. of a boy, perverted justice, and made the city acceffory to that scandalous outrage which had been committed against the Greeks. Finding Cleombrotus little inclined to the Theban war, it became neceffary for him to quit the privilege of his age, which he had before claimed, and to lead the army himself; which he did with variety of success, fometimes conquering, and fometimes being conquered; fo that one day when he had received a wound in battle, he was reproached by Antalcidas, who told him, that the Thebans had made him a good requital, for teaching them to fight, which they neither liked

liked nor understood before. And indeed they were now grown far better soldiers than ever they had been, as they were now inured to war by the frequent expeditions of the Lacedæmonians against them. For this reason their ancient legislator Lycurgus, in one of the three decrees called Rhetræ, forbade them to make war often against the same enemies, lest they should instruct them in the mili-

tary art *:

The allies of Sparta were not a little discontented at Agefilaus, because this war was commenced not upon any public offence committed by the Thebans. but merely out of his private hatred to them; and they complained of it as highly unreasonable, that they being the majority of the army, should from year to year be thus exposed to danger and hardthip, marching from place to place at the will of a few. Agefilaus, it is faid, devifed this expedient, to show that the allies were not the greater number. He gave orders, that all the allies, of whatever country, should fit down promiscuously on one fide, and all the Lacedæmonians on the other: which being done, he commanded an herald to proclaim that all the potters should stand up; then all the blacksmiths; then all the masons; next the carpenters; and so he went through all the different trades. Thus almost all the allies rose up, and not one of the Lacedæmonians, they being by law forbidden to learn any mechanical trade. Then Agefilaus faid laughing, You fee, my friends, that our number of soldiers is much greater than yours:

When he brought back his army from Bootia through Megara, as he was going up to the town-hall in the castle, he was suddenly seized with a convulsion and acute pain in his sound leg; after which a tumour arose, the vessels seemed distended with blood, and there appeared all the signs of a violent inflammation. He was attended by a Syra-

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^{*} See.vol. 1. p. 184.

cusan physician, who let him blood below the ancle: this soon eased his pain; but it was with great difficulty that the bleeding was stopped, and not till it had brought upon him a fainting fit, and reduced him so low that his life was in great danger. He was carried home to Sparta in a very weak condition, and did not recover strength enough to appear in the field a long time after.

In the mean time, the Spartans received many losses both by sea and land; but the greatest was that at Leuctra, which was the first time that they were overthrown by the Thebans in a pitched bat-

tle. The occasion of it was this.

The Grecians being all disposed to a general peace, fent ambaffadors to Sparta to negotiate it. Among these was Epaminondas the Theban, famous at that time for his wifdom and learning; but he had not yet given proof of his martial virtues. He feeing all the others standing in awe of Agesilaus, and making court to him, alone maintained his dignity, and spoke with freedom in behalf not of Thebes only, but of all Greece, remonstrating, that war was advantageous only to the Spartans, and that it was destructive to the rest of the Grecians. He advised therefore, that peace might be made upon equal terms, fince it could not be rendered lasting but by reducing all to a parity. Agefilaus perceiving all the other Greeks to hearken attentively to this discourse, and to be pleased with it, asked him whether he did not think it just and reasonable that the Bæotians should be permitted to live in a state of freedom and independence? Epaminondas with great boldness and vivacity returned the question, and asked Agesilaus if he did not think it just and reasonable, that Laconia should be restored to the same state of freedom and independence? Agefilaus being enraged at this reply, started up, and pressed him to declare peremptorily, if he would agree to an immunity for Bæotia? And Epaminondas returned the same queftion

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ftion again, and asked, if an immunity would be granted on his part to Laconia *? Agesilaus was so provoked at this, that he gladly laid hold of this pretext to exclude the Thebans from the league, and to declare war against them. With the rest of the Greeks he made a treaty, and dismissed them, saying, That what could be peaceably adjusted, should; what was otherwise incurable must be determined by war, it being a thing of too great difficulty to provide for all.

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The Ephori immediately fent orders to Cleombrotus, who was at that time in Phocis, to march directly into Boeotia, and at the same time sent to their allies for help. The confederates were very averse to the war, and marched with great reluctance; but as yet they feared the Spartans, and durst not refuse, And though many unfavourable omens and prodigies appeared †, as I have mentioned in the life of Epaminondas, and though Prothous ‡ the Lacedæmonian opposed this expedition, yet Agesilaus could not be prevailed upon to desist, so that the war was decreed. He thought the present juncture of affairs very advantageous

* For the Thebans were for having all the other cities in Greece reflored to their liberty, but would at the fame time keep Bootia in a state of subjection to them; on the other hand, the Lacedæmonians were for restoring the liberty of Bootia, but would still remain masters of Laconia.

† It was faid that the doors belonging to the temples in Bæotia opened of themselves; that the priestesses had declared that some signal victory was approaching in favour of the Bæotians; and that all the armour hung up in the temple of Hercules disappeared, as if Hercules himself was gone to be present at the battle. Xenophon adds, that most people were persuaded that this was an invention of the leaders.

† The counsel Prothous gave was very just and reasonable: he advised that the army should be disbanded according to their engagement; that all the cities should be ordered to carry their contributions, every one according to its abilities, into the temple of Apollo; and that the war should be directed only against those who opposed the liberty of the cities; by which means they would find the gods favour their enterprises, and the cities would join them with alacrity. But this advice was laughed at; for, adds Xenophon, it looked as if the gods were already urging on the Lacedæmonians to their destruction.

for his revenge, the rest of Greece being wholly free, and in league with Sparta, and the Thebans only exempted. But that this war was undertaken more from passion than judgment, appears from the shortness of the time. For the treaty was sinished on the fourteenth of Scirophorion [June], and the Lacedæmonians received their great overthrow at Leuctra the sistent of Hecatombæon [July], twenty-one days after. There fell at that time a thousand Spartans, and Cleombrotus their king, together with many others of the bravest men of the city; particularly Cleonymus, the son of Sphodrias, that beautiful youth, was thrice struck down at the feet of the king, and as often rose, but was stain at last.

This unexpected blow, which fell so heavy upon the Lacedæmonians, brought greater glory to Thebes, than ever was acquired by any other of the Grecian states in their wars against each other. The behaviour of the Spartans though conquered. was, however, as much applauded and admired as that of the victorious Thebans. And indeed, if, as Xenophon fays, good men even in their gayeft conversations, and in their wine, let fall many remarkable fayings that are worth preferving; how much more worthy to be recorded, is an exemplary constancy of mind, appearing both in the countenance. and behaviour of brave men, when they are preffed by adverse fortune? It happened, that the Spartans were celebrating a festival, and the town was full of strangers who came from other countries to fee the exercises of the youths and virgins who wrestled naked in the theatre, when this news of the overthrow was brought. The Ephori, though they were fufficiently aware that this blow had quite ruined the Spartan grandeur and its authority over the rest of Greece, yet gave orders that the sports should not break off, nor any of the ceremonies of the festival be omitted; but privately sending the names

names of the flain to each family out of which they were loft, they continued the public folemnity. The next morning, when they had full intelligence concerning it, and every body knew who were flain, and who furvived, the fathers and relations of the flain came out rejoicing into the marketplace, and faluted each other with a kind of exultation. On the contrary, the relations of the furvivors hid themselves at home among the women; if necessity drove any of them abroad, they went very dejectedly, with downcast looks and forrowful countenances. The women even outdid the men; fuch whose sons were flain, went immediately to the temples to return thanks to the gods, and vifited each other with great cheerfulness and mutual congratulations; but they who expected their

children home, were filent and dejected. The common people finding themselves deserted by their allies, and being terrified with the news of Epaminondas's defign of invading Peloponnesus, called to mind that oracle which related to Agefilaus's lamenefs, and were deeply discouraged, and afraid of the anger of the gods, thinking that the misfortunes of the city were occasioned by their having placed a lame king upon the throne, and excluded one whose limbs were found and perfect; for this, they imagined, the gods had directed them above all things to avoid. Yet fuch was their regard to the virtue, authority, and reputation of Agefilaus, that they threw themselves upon him in this diffress, as the only man who was fit to heal the public malady, and not only employed him as their general in war, but referred every difficulty in the civil government to his decision. One great difficulty was then before them, concerning those who had fled out of the battle; for they being many and powerful, it was feared that they might make fome commotion in the republic, to avoid the penalties inflicted on them by the laws for their cowardice.

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cowardice. The law in that case was very severe: for they were not only to be degraded from all honours, but also it was a disgrace to intermarry with them; whoever met any of them in the streets, might beat them if he pleased, nor was it lawful for them to refift; they were obliged to appear publicly in a mean tattered habit, patched of divers colours, and to wear their beards half shaved, and half unshaved. To execute so rigid a law as this, when the offenders were fo many, and had fuch great interest and authority, and that at a time when the commonwealth wanted foldiers fo much as then it did, was of dangerous confequence. Therefore they chose Agesilaus legislator, with full power of abrogating old laws, or making new ones as he pleased. But he without making any addition, diminution, or change, came into the public affembly, and faid, The law for this day shall lie dormant, but shall be executed in its full vigour for the future. By this means he at once preferved the law from abrogation, and the citizens from infamy. And that he might remove the despondency and consternation which had seized the young men, he made an inroad into Arcadia, where he earefully avoided coming to an engagement, and contented himself with ravaging the territory, and taking a fmall town belonging to the Mantineans; thereby reviving the hearts of the people, and letting them fee that they were not every where unfuccessful.

Soon after this, Epaminondas and the Theban allies invaded Laconia with an army of forty thou-fand foldiers, beside light-armed men and others that followed the camp only for plunder, so that in all they were seventy thousand. It was now fix hundred years since the Dorians had possessed Laconia; and in all that time an enemy had not been seen within their territories, no man daring to invade them. But now they made their incursions without

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without refistance as far as the Eurotas, and the very fuburbs of Sparta; for Agefilaus, as Theopompus writes, would not permit the Spartans to oppose so impetuous a torrent. He contented himfelf with fortifying the chief parts of the city, and placing guards in the most important posts, enduring in the meantime the threats and defiances of the Thebans, who called upon him by name to come and defend his country, which fuffered thefe miseries upon his account, as he was the sole author of the war. Beside this he was greatly disturbed at home by tumults in the city, by the outcries and cabals of the old men, who were highly enraged at their present condition, and by the wild behaviour of the women, who were terrified even to madness by the clamours and the fires of the enemy in the field. And what further diffressed him was the fense of his lost glory; for he who came to the crown of Sparta when it was in its most flourishing condition and highest grandeur, now lived to fee its pride humbled, and all its magnificent boasts confuted, even that which he himself had been accustomed to utter, That the women of Sparta had never feen the smoke of the enemy's fire. It is faid, that when Antalcidas was once disputing with an Athenian about the valour of the two nations, the Athenian faid, That they had often driven the Spartans from the river Cephifus: Yes, faid Antalcidas, but we never drove you from the Eurotas. One of the common people of Sparta being in company with an Argive, who was boafting how many Spartans lay buried in the fields of Argos, replied, But you have none buried in the country of Laconia. Some fay that Antalcidas, who was one of the Ephori, was fo terrified on this occasion that he fent away his children privately to the island of Cythera.

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When the enemy attempted to pass the river in order to attack the town, Agefilaus betook himfelf to the highest part of it which was in the middle, and there he drew up his army. It happened at that time that the Eurotas was swelled to a great height, by reason of the snow that had fallen, which made the passage very difficult to the Thebans, not only from the violence of the stream, but much more from the coldness of the water. Epaminondas was the first person that passed at the head of his infantry, and every where appeared the foremost man in the army; some of the Spartans having showed him to Agefilaus, he looked stedfastly at him for a long time, filently following all his motions with his eyes, and at last uttered only this exclamation, What heroic spirit and vigour! Epaminondas was ambitious to come to an engagement in the city, and to erect a trophy there; but as he could not tempt Agefilaus out of his advantageous post, he was forced to march off again,

wasting the country as he went.

In the meantime a conspiracy broke out in Sparta, where two hundred malecontents, who had for a long time concealed their traitorous purposes, and waited for fuch an opportunity, got into a krong part of the town called Hifferion, where they feized upon the temple of Diana. The Spartans would instantly have fallen upon them; but Agefilaus not knowing how far the sedition might reach, commanded them to forbear; and going himfelf in his cloak, with but one fervant, when he came near the rebels, he called out to them, and faid, You bave mistaken my orders. My directions were not that you should all go in a body to that station, but that some of you should plant your selves there, and others there; at the same time pointing out to them different parts of the city. The conspirators gladly heard this difcourfe, thinking themselves not suspected, and readily went off to the places which he showed them. Whereupon Agefilaus immediately ordered fome of the troops to possess themselves of that post, and having caused about fifteen of the conspirators to

be apprehended, he commanded that they should be

put to death the night following.

After this a much more dangerous conspiracy was discovered of a great number of Spartan citizens, who met privately at a certain place, where they consulted how to introduce a change in the government. It was equally dangerous, during the present consusion, to prosecute them publicly, and to connive at them. Agesilaus therefore, by consent of the Ephori, put them to death privately without process; a thing never before known in Sparta.

At this time also many of the Helots, and other mercenaries, that were listed in the army, ran away to the enemy, which produced a great consternation in the city. He therefore caused some officers, every morning before day, to search the quarters of the soldiers, and where any man was gone, to hide his arms, that so the greatness of the number

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Historians differ about the cause of the departure of the Thebans from Sparta. Some fay that the winter forced them; and that the Arcadian foldiers disbanding, made it necessary for the rest to retire. Others fay, that they staid there three months, till they had laid waste the whole country. Theopompus fays, that when the governours of Bœotia had given orders to decamp, Phrixus the Spartan came and offered the Thebans ten talents from Agefilaus to purchase their retreat; so that, according to him, when they were retiring of their own accord, they received money from their enemies to defray the expenses of their march. How he alone should come to the knowledge of this particular, I know not. But all authors agree, that Sparta was faved from ruin by Agefilaus, who in this extremity of affairs quitted his two darling paffions, ambition and obstinacy, and studied only the fecurity and preservation of the city. He could not, however, VOL. IV.

after this great overthrow, restore it to its ancient greatness. For as in healthy bodies long used to a strict and regular diet, the least deviation from the prescribed rule is generally fatal; so one error destroyed the strength and prosperity of this city. And this may be easily accounted for. The constitution of Sparta was excellently framed for promoting peace, virtue, and concord; but when the people began to aim at conquest, and to extend their dominions by force of arms contrary to the intention of Lycurgus, who thought that such acquisitions were of no importance to the happiness of a state, the consequence was disgrace and ruin.

Agefilaus being now very aged, gave over all military employments; but his fon Archidamus, having received fome fuccours from Dionysius of Sicily, defeated the Arcadians in an engagement known by the name of the tearless battle, wherein there was a great flaughter of the enemy without the loss of one Spartan. This victory did but too much discover the present weakness of Sparta; for formerly victory was efteemed fo usual a thing with them, that for their greatest successes they only sacrificed a cock to the gods; the foldiers never boafted, nor were the citizens extravagantly joyful at the news. Nay, when the great victory was obtained at Mantinea, which is described by Thucydides, the meffenger that brought the news had no other reward, than a piece of meat which was fent to him from the public table. But at the news of this Arcadian victory, they were not able to contain themselves; the king went out in procession with tears of joy in his eyes, and attended by the magistrates, to meet and embrace his fon. The old men and the women marched out in crouds as far as the river Eurotas, lifting up their hands, and thanking the gods, as if Sparta had that day washed off the flain that fo lately fluck upon her, and had

just then recovered her ancient splendour. For we are told that till then the married men durst not look their wives in the face, through shame for their late losses.

When Epaminondas was rebuilding Messene, and recalling the ancient inhabitants to repeople it, the Spartans durst not appear in the field to obstruct it; though they were much concerned at it, and were full of refentment against Agesilaus for suffering fo large a territory, equal to their own in compais, for fertility the richest of all Greece, and which they had enjoyed fo long, to be taken from them in his reign. For this reason he refused to accept of peace when offered him by the Thebans. He could not be brought to make a formal ceffion. of that which they had already in possession. But this obstinacy had like to have cost him dear; for he not only failed of recovering that territory, but in the progress of the war was over-reached by a stratagem, which brought Sparta itself into the most imminent danger. For when the Mantineans had again revolted from the Thebans to the Lacedæmonians, and Epaminondas understood that Agesilaus was marching to their affistance with a powerful army, he privately in the night quitted his quarters at Tegea, and unknown to the Mantineans, pailing by Agefilaus, marched towards Sparta, which he almost surprised empty and defenceless. Agefilaus being informed of this by Euthynus the Thespian, according to Callisthenes, or by fome Cretan, according to Xenophon, immediately dispatched a messenger on horseback to Sparta to advertise the citizens of it, and he himself arrived foon after. In a little time the Thebans appeared, . and having passed the Eurotas, assaulted the town. Agefilaus received them with great courage, and exerted himself much beyond what was to be expected from his years. For he did not now fight with that caution which he formerly made use of,

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of, but rather with a desperate boldness, which (though not his usual method) succeeded fo well, that he rescued the city out of the hands of Epaminondas, erected a trophy for his victory, and showed even to the women and children how nobly the Lacedæmonians paid the debt which they owed to their country for their education. Archidamus fignally distinguished himself that day both by his courage and his agility, flying from place to place, prefenting himself in all the most dangerous passes, and with a few companions continually repulfing the enemy where they preffed hardest into the town. But the greatest example of valour was given by Isadas, the son of Phæbidas, to the admiration of the enemy as well as of his friends. He was tall and beautiful, and just in that bloom of youth which is the boundary betwixt childhood and manhood. He had neither arms nor cloaths to cover him, having just before anointed his body with oil. When the alarm was given, he ran out immediately with a spear in one hand and a fword in the other, and rushed into the thickest of his enemies, bearing down all before him. He received no wound, whether he were the particular care of some god, who rewarded his valour with an extraordinary protection, or whether he appeared to the enemy to be fomething more than man. The gallantry of the action was fo effeemed among the Spartans, that the Ephori gave him a garland; but afterwards they fined him a thousand drachmas for going out to battle unarmed. is in a constant in the contract of

A few days after this there was another battle fought near Mantinea, wherein Epaminondas having routed the van of the Lacedæmonians, being eager in the pursuit of them, Anticrates the Laconian wounded him with a spear, according to Diofcorides, though others say it was with a sword, which is the most probable, for the Spartans to this

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this day call the posterity of Anticrates, Machaeriones, or swordmen, because he slew Epaminondas with
a sword. They so dreaded Epaminondas when living, that Anticrates was beloved and admired by
all; nay, they decreed honours and rewards to
him, and to his posterity an immunity from all
taxes. This privilege Callicrates one of his descen-

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Epaminondas being flain, there was a general peace again concluded, from which Agefilaus excluded the Messenians as men that had no city, and thefore would not let them fwear to the league; to which when the rest of the Greeks admitted them, the Lacedæmonians broke off, and continued the war alone, in hopes of recovering Messenia. For this reason Agesilaus was esteemed a man of a violent obstinate disposition, and insatiably fond of war, who took fuch pains to hinder the league, and to protract the war at a time when he had not money wherewith to carry it on, but was forced to borrow of the citizens, and to oppress them with heavy taxes; whereas it was high time to ease them of their burdens, and put an end to their calamities, instead of labouring by every method to recover the country of Messenia, after he had loft fo great an empire both by fea and land, as the Spartans were possessed of, when he came to the crown.

But he was still more censured for putting himfelf into the fervice of Tachos the Egyptian *. It

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^{*} But this action is not in the least to be condemned, when considered as Xenophon, a contemporary author, has related it. He tells us that Agesilaus being informed that Tachos king of Egypt was raising a great army, in order to fall upon the king of Persia, was pleased to find himself invited to accept of the command of that army. For he hoped he should by that means be able to make some grateful return to Tachos for his many services to the Lacedæmonians, that he should be able to restore the Greek cities in Asia to their liberty, and revenge the wrongs done the Spartans by the king of Persia in times past, as well as his late ill office in forcing them to give up Messene, though at the same time he called himself their ally.

was thought unworthy of him, who was then looked upon as the greatest man in all Greece, who had filled all countries with his renown, to let out his person and reputation to hire to a Barbarian, an Egyptian rebel, and to fight for pay, as captain only of a band of mercenaries. If when he was above eighty years old, after his body was worn out with age, and enfeebled with wounds, he had engaged in fome very honourable cause, even for the liberty of Greece, it might have been esteemed an unfeafonable ambition and worthy of some reproof. For a certain congruity of time and circumstances is necessary to render an action good; nay, it may be faid that a justness of measure and degree alone diffinguishes virtue from vice. But Agefilaus was not governed by these considerations; he thought no public employment dishonourable; the ignoblest thing in his efteem was for a man to fit idle at home, till death overtook him. The money therefore that he received from Tachos, he laid out in hiring fome mercenary troops; and having filled his ships, and taken thirty Spartans with him for his council, as formerly he had done in his Afiatic expedition, he fet fail for Egypt.

As foon as he arrived, all the great officers of the kingdom came to pay their compliments to him. His great reputation had raised the expectation of the whole country, which flocked to fee him; but when they found, instead of the majesty and splendour which they looked for, a little old man of a contemptible appearance lying down upon the grafs, in a mean garb, they could not refrain from laughter and raillery, crying out, that this was was like the fable of the mountain which brought forth a mouse. They were much more furprifed at his abfurdity and rusticity when the presents usually offered to strangers of diffinction were brought to him; for he took only the meal, the calves, and the geefe, but rejected the fweet-meats, the confections, and perfumes:

fames: and when they urged him to accept them, he faid, They might carry them to the Helots. Theophraftus fays that he was highly pleased with the Egyptian papyrus, because on account of its thinness and pliantness it was very proper to make garlands; and when he left Egypt, he desired the king to let.

him carry fome of it home with him.

When he joined with Tachos, he found his expectation of being general frustrated; lachos referved that place for himfelf, making Agefilaus only captain of the mercenaries, and Chabrias the Athenian admiral. This was the first occasion of his discontent; but there followed others; and he was obliged for a confiderable time to bear with the infolence and vanity of this Egyptian. At length he was forced to attend on him into Phœnicia, in a condition much below his spirit and dignity. However he submitted to it for a while, till he had an opportunity of showing his refentment. It was soon afforded him by Nectanabis, Tachos's own coufin, and a commander under him, who revolted from his uncle, and was proclaimed king by the Egyptians. This man invited Agefilaus and Chabrias to his party, offering great rewards to both. Tachos being advertised of it, had recourse to perfuafions, prayers, and entreaties. Chabrias was prevailed upon, and endeavoured by remonstrances. to reconcile Agefilaus to Tachos, and keep him firm to his interest. But he replied, You, O Chabrias, came hither a volunteer, and may go or stay as you please; but I am the servant of Sparta, appointed to head the Egyptians, and therefore I cannot fight against those to whom I was sent as a friend, unless I am commanded to do fo by my country. At the same time he dispatch. ed messengers to Sparta, by whom he accused Tachos to the senate, and justified Nectanabis. The two Egyptians also fent ambassadors to Lacedæmon, to solicit the favour of the Spartans, the one as being their old friend and confederate, and the other

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ther as a person already well affected towards them, and whom a sense of gratitude would absolutely devote to their service. The Spartans having heard both sides, sent this public answer, That they referred the whole matter to Agesilaus, and wrote privately to him, to act as he should find it best for the interest of the commonwealth. Upon receipt of his orders, he soon changed sides, and carried all the mercenaries with him to Nectabanis, covering this scandalous and unworthy conduct with the plausible pretence of acting for the benefit of his country; whereas that weil being taken off, the fact deserves no better name than treachery. But the Lacedæmonians, who make it the sirst principle of virtue to serve their country, know not any thing to be just or unjust

by any measure but that:

Tachos being thus deferted by the mercenaries fled; but; at the same time, another prince of the city of Mendes, put in his claim, and being declared king by his party, marched at the head of a hundred thousand men against Nectanabis. Nectanabis in his discourse with Agesilaus despised them as men who, though many in number, were artifans and tradefmen, and ftrangers to martial difcipline. To whom Agefilaus answered, That he despised their numbers, but was afraid of their ignorance, which gave no room for deceiving them by art and fratagem; for those are to be used only upon cunning and crafty men; who being suspicious of the enemies designs, and forming others to countermine them, often fall into the mare unadvisedly; but he who neither suspects nor fears any thing, gives no more opportunity to the enemy, than he who flands fill gives to a wrestler. This Mendesian was not wanting in his folicitations to Agefilaus, fo that Nectanabis grew fulpicious. But when Agefilaus advised him to fight the enemy immediately, and not to protract the war with fuch men, who, though rude and ignorant, would fo increase in numbers, as wholly to encompass them, and prevent their defigns;

defigns; this confirmed him in his jealoufy, and made him take the quite contrary course, and retreat into a city fortissed with large and strong walls. Agesilaus sinding himself mistrusted, was very much incensed; yet being ashamed to change sides again, or to return home without performing any thing, he was forced to follow Nectanabis, and shut himself up with him in the town.

When the enemy came up, and began to draw an entrenchment about the town, the Egyptian fearing the event of a fiege, was refolving upon a battle; the Greeks were also of the same opinion, the provisions growing already scarce in the place. When Agesilaus opposed it, the Egyptians suspected him more than ever, and publicly called him a traitor. But Agesilaus heard all these reproaches patiently, and pursued the design which he had laid

to over-reach the enemy. It was this.

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The enemy had drawn a deep ditch about the wall, refolving to thut up the king entirely. When the ditch was brought almost quite round, and the two ends were nearly joined together, Agefilaus waiting for the advantage of the night, ordered all his Greeks to arm: then going to the king, he faid, This, young man, is your opportunity of faving yourself, which I durst not all this while discover, lest the discovery should prevent it; but now the enemy have by their own labour provided for our security. As much of this ditch as is finished will prevent them from surrounding us with their multitude, the gap yet left will be Sufficient for us to Sally out by: now follow us, and by fighting valiantly save yourself and your army; their front will not be able to stand against us, and the ditch will secure us from the rest. Nectanabis admiring the wisdom of Agesilaus, immediately placed himself in the Grecian army, and attacked the enemy who were very eafily defeated. Agefilaus having now gotten credit with the king, employed again a stratagem of the same kind against the enemy. He fometimes. fometimes pretended a retreat, and sometimes turned about and faced them; by which means he at last drew their whole army into a place inclosed between two ditches that were very deep and full of water. When he had them at this advantage, he soon charged them, drawing up the front of his battle equal to the space between the two ditches, so that they had no way of surrounding him, being inclosed themselves on both sides. They made but little resistance; many fell, the rest sled and were

ching the event of a field:

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COLHESPANOS

Nectanabis being thus fettled in his kingdom. with great kindness and earnestness invited Agesihaus to spend his winter in Egypt: but he made hafte home to affift in the wars of his own country. whose treasury he knew to be empty, though the Spartans were forced to hire mercenaries. The king difmiffed him very honourably, and among other gifts presented the city of Sparta with two hundred and thirty talents of filver, towards the charge of the war. But the winter-feafon coming on, Agefilaus was driven by a ftorm upon a defert hore in Africa, called the haven of Menelaus, where he expired, being then eighty-four years old, of which he had reigned forty-one in Lacedæmon. The first thirty years of his reign he passed in great fplendour, being esteemed the most powerful prince of all Greece, and confidered in it as king and commander in chief, till the battle of Leuctra. It was the custom of the Spartans to bury persons of ordinary rank in the place where they died, whatfoever country it was, but their kings they embalmed and carried home. The attendants of Agefilaus not having proper materials to embalm him, for want of honey which they commonly used, wrapped his body in wax, and so conveyed him to Lace-

His fon Archidamus succeeded him in his throne,

fo did his posterity successively to Agis *, the fifth from Agesilaus; who was murdered by Leonidas, for attempting to restore the ancient discipline of Sparta.

* This is the genealogy.
Agefilaus

Archidamus

Agis II. and Eudamidas.
Agis dying without children, his brother Eudamidas fucceeded, and had a fon named Archidamus.

Archidamus IV.

Eudamidas II.

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LIFE

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POMPEY.

THE people of Rome seem to have been affected towards Pompey, even from his early youth, in the same manner as Prometheus in the tragedy of Æschylus is towards Hercules, when after he had been released by him, he says,

Thou dearest offspring of an hated sire!

For on one hand never did the Romans show such a violent and bitter hatred against any of their generals, as they did against Strabo, the father of Pompey. During his lifetime, it is true, they stood in awe of his power as a general, for he had great military talents; but immediately upon his death, which happened by a thunderbolt, they dragged hiscorpse from the herse, as it was carried to interment, and treated it with the greatest indignity. On the other fide, never did any Roman experience the affection of the people, earlier begun, more constantly attending his prosperity, or more steadily continued in his adverfity, than Pompey. In Strabo there was one great cause of their hatred, his insatiable covetousness; but in Pompey there were many qualites for which they loved him; his temperance, his application to martial exercises, his eloquence, his integrity, his affability and graceful behaviour; fo that no man

was less burdensome to those from whom he asked favours, or to those on whom he conferred them: when he gave, it was without arrogance; and

when he received, it was with dignity.

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In his youth his countenance was extremely engaging, and prejudiced in his favour those who addreffed him, even before he spoke. The sweetness of his aspect was such as expressed dignity combined with gentleness, and humanity; and amid the bloom of youth he had an august and majestic air which commanded respect. His hair was naturally somewhat erect, and the shiming moisture and lively motion of his eyes gave him a refemblance of Alexander, according to the descriptions we have of him, much greater than appears in the statues of that prince. Some therefore gave him that name in earnest, with which he was not displeased; others called him fo in deriffon; and it is faid, that Lucius Philippus *, a man of confular dignity, when he was one day pleading in his favour, faid, it was no wonder that Philip should be a lover of Alexander.

It is reported of Flora the courtezan, that when she was advanced in years, she took great delight in relating her amours with Pompey, and used to say, that she could never part with him after he had lain with her without giving him a bite. She also said, that one Geminius, an intimate friend of Pompey, sell in love with her, and was very importunate in his addresses. When she refused to comply, and told him that she could not gratify his desires for Pompey's sake, he applied to Pompey, who freely gave his consent; but he never afterwards would touch her, or have any converse with her, though he seemed to retain a strong passion for her. This Flora resented, but not with the levity of a strumpet, for she languished afterwards under a te-

Vol. IV. L dious

^{*} L. Martius Philippus, one of the greatest orators of his time. He was father-in-law to Augustus, having married his mother Attia. Horace makes mention of him, lib. i, epist. vii.

dious fickness through grief and desite. Flora was however so celebrated for her beauty, that Cacilius Metellus, when he adorned the temples of Castor and Pollux with statues and pictures, dedicated her picture among the rest. But Pompey's self-denial never appeared in a stronger light, than in his deportment towards the wife of Demetrius his enfranchifed fervant, who had a great influence upon him in his lifetime, and left an estate of four thousand talents behind him; for, contrary to his natural difposition, he behaved towards her with great rudeness and incivility, that he might not appear to be captivated with her beauty, which was very uncommon, and was esteemed irresistible. But, notwithflanding his caution and circumspection in matters of this nature, he could not avoid the calumnies of his enemies, who accused him of carrying on intrigues with fome married women, for whose fake he often neglected the business of the public.

As to his sobriety and temperance in diet, there is one remarkable instance of it related. In a fit of sickness, when his stomach nauseated common meats, his physician prescribed him a thrush to eat; but, upon search, there was none to be bought, for they were not then in season; and when some person told him, they were to be had at Lucullus's, who kept them all the year round: What, said he, if it were not for Lucullus's luxury, must not Pompey live? Therefore, dismissing his physician, he contented himself with such meat as could easily be procured.

But this happened afterwards.

When he was a very young man, and ferved in an expedition in which his father was appointed general against Cinna, he had a companion with him in his tent, one Lucius Terentius, who being corrupted by Cinna, entered into an engagement to kill Pompey, as others had done to fet the general's tent on fire. This conspiracy being discovered to Pompey at supper, he seemed not at all discomposed at it, but drank more freely than usual, and expressed an extraordinary kindness to Terentius; till about bed-time, pretending to go to his repose, he stole away secretly out of his own tent, and fetting a guard about hisfather, quietly expected the event. Terentius when he thought it was time to put his enterprise in execution, rose and drew his sword, and coming to Pompey's bedfide, pierced through the bedcloaths feveral times as if he were lying there. Immediately upon this there was a great uproar throughout all the camp, arifing from the hatred the foldiers bore to the general, and an univerfal inclination to revolt, all tearing down their tents, and betaking themselves to their arms. The general himself all this while durst not venture out because of the tumult: but Pompey running into the midft of them, befought them with tears to return, and at last threw himself prostrate upon his face before the gate of the camp, and lay there weeping in the passage, and bidding those that were marching off, if they would go, to trample upon him: whereupon every man began to retreat, and all except eight hundred, through shame and compassion, repented of their folly, and were reconciled to the ge-

Immediately upon the death of Strabo, who was charged with having embezzled the public treasure, there was an action commenced against Pompey as his heir. But Pompey having with great labour traced the theft, charged it upon one Alexander, an enfranchised slave of his father's, and clearly proved before the judges that he had purloined and converted it to his own use. Afterwards he himself was arraigned, for having seized some hunting nets and books that were taken at Asculum. He acknowledged indeed, that he received them from his father when he took Asculum, but said, that he had lost them since; which happened upon Cinna's return

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return to Rome, when his house was broke open and plundered by his guards. In this cause he had a great many preparatory pleadings against his accufer, in which he showed an acuteness and steadiness of mind beyond his years, which gained him great reputation: fo that Antiffius the prætor, who was the principal judge in that cause, conceived, fuch an affection for Pompey, that he offered him his daughter in marriage, and spoke to his friends. on the subject. Pompey accepted the offer, and they were privately contracted. However this affair was not managed fo privately as to escape the multitude, but it was difcernible enough from the favour that was shown him by Antistius; and at. last, when Antistius pronounced the absolutory sentence of the judges, the people (as if it had been upon a fignal given) made the fame acclamation that had been used at marriages even from the earliest. times, crying out Talasio. The original of that custom is reported to be this. When the daughters of the Sabines came to Rome, to fee the shows and. fports there, and were violently feized upon by the nobles for wives, it happened that fome herdsmen of mean rank were carrying off a tall and beautiful. virgin; and left any of the nobles should meet. them, and take her away, as they ran they cried out. with one voice Talasius. Talasius was a person of distinction and very much beloved; so that all who, heard the name, clapped their hands, and joined in the shout, as applauding and congratulating him. And they fay that because that proved a fortunate. match to Talasius, therefore this acclamation is jocularly used as a nuptial fong at all weddings. This. is the most credible account that I can meet with. touching Falafio *.

Some few days after this fentence was pronounced, Pompey married Antiftia. He then went to

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^{*} See some further account of this custom in the life of Romulus, vol. 1. p. 126.

Cinna's camp, where finding that some false accufations were raifed against him, he began to be afraid, and withdrew privately. This fudden difappearance occasioned a rumour throughout the whole army, that Cinna had murdered the young man: upon which all that had been disobliged by him and hated him, refolved to make an affault upon him. As he was endeavouring to make his escape, he was seized by a centurion, who pursued him with his naked fword. Cinna falling upon his knees, offered him a feal of great value for his ranfom; but the centurion replied very infolently, I come not here to feal a covenant, but to be revenged upon a lawless and wicked tyrant, and so dispatched him immediately, bable betreffered about all

Cinna being slain in this manner was succeeded by Carbo, a more violent and furious tyrant than he. But shortly after Sylla returned into Italy, a man defired by the greatest part of the Romans, who, under their present calamities, thought it a great happiness even to change their master. For the city was reduced so low by those grievous oppressions, that every man utterly despairing of liberty, only considered now which was the mildest

and most tolerable bondage.

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About that time Pompey was at Picenum in Italy, where he had an estate; but the chief motive of his abode in that country, was the hereditary affection of the cities there, which his family had. enjoyed for many generations. When he perceived that the noblest and best of the citizens began to forfake their habitations, and fly from all quarters. to Sylla's camp as to their haven, he determined likewise to repair thither among the rest, but difdained to go alone as a fugitive, or one who wanted protection; he chose rather to oblige Sylla at his very first setting out, and to render himself serviceable to him by appearing before him at the head of an army. To that end he folicited the L 3 Picentines 1

Picentines for their affistance, who cordially embraced his motion, and rejected those that were fent from Carbo; fo that when one Vindius faid that Pompey from a schoolboy was suddenly become their chief. orator and commander, they were so incensed against him, that immediately they fell upon him, and flew him. Soon after this, Pompey, though as yet not above twenty-three years of age, without being nominated to the command by any other person, affumed to himself a full power and jurisdiction. He caused a tribunal to be erected in the marketplace of Auximum, a populous city, and banished from thence by an edict two of the principal men, the Ventidii, who were brothers, and of Carbo's faction. He then levied foldiers, and gave commiffions to centurions and other officers, according to the form of military discipline. In this manner he went round, and modelled all the rest of the cities thereabouts; fo that as those who were of Carbo's faction fled, and all others cheerfully submitted to his command, in a little time he collected three entire legions; and having supplied himself with all manner of provisions, beasts of burden, carriages, and all other implements of war, he fet forwards on his march towards Sylla, not in hafte, nor as if he was defirous to be concealed, but frequently halting upon the road, in order to diffress and annoy the enemy, and to perfuade the inhabitants of those parts of Italy through which he passed to revolt from Carbo.

There were three commanders on the enemy's fide, Carinnas, Cælius, and Brutus, who opposed him at the same time, and drew up their forces, not all in the front, nor yet together on any one part; but encamping three several armies in a circle about him, they resolved to encompass and destroy him at once. Pompey was not at all intimidated; but drawing up all his forces into one body, and placing his horse in the front of the battle, where

he himself was in person, he bent all his forces against Brutus. The enemy's horse which consisted chiefly of Gauls, refolutely came on to the attack; but Pompey fingling out their commander, a brave and gallant officer, encountered him hand to hand, and watching his opportunity, made a home thrust at him with his lance, and flew him. The rest feeing this, turned their backs, and fled in great diforder, breaking the ranks of their own infantry, fo that a total rout enfued. Upon this the commanders fell out among themselves, and they marched off, each a different way, as chance directed them. The towns round about furrendered to Pompey, when they faw that the enemy was dispersed for fear. Some time after Scipio the conful came to attack him; but before the armies could join, or were within reach of each other's darts, Scipio's foldiers faluted Pompey's, and came over to them. Scipio made his escape by flight. Last of all, Carbo himself fent down several bodies of horse by the river Arsis, which Pompey attacked with the same courage and fuccess as before; for having routed and put them to flight, he forced them in the purfuit into a rough uneven place, altogether unpaffable for horse, where seeing no hopes of escape, they furrendered themselves with their horses and arms.

Sylla was hitherto unacquainted with all these exploits; but as soon as common fame had brought him the first intelligence of them, he was extremely concerned, fearing lest Pompey should be overpowered by so many and such experienced commanders, and marched with all speed to his affistance. Pompey having advice of his approach, gave orders to his officers, that the soldiers should be completely armed and drawn up in order of battle, that they might appear to the greatest advantage before their general; for he expected indeed great honours from him, but he met with greater; for

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as foon as Sylla faw him advancing, with an army composed of foldiers well made and of a manly appearance, and whose joy for their success had increased the boldness and liveliness of their aspect, he alighted from his horse, and being first faluted by the title of Imperator, as indeed he had a right. to be, he returned the fame falutation to Pompey, contrary to the expectation of all that were prefent, who little imagined that he would have given to one so young, and who was not yet a fenator, a. title fo honourable, and for which he had for desperately contended against the factions of Scipio. and Marius. And indeed all the rest of his deportment was agreeable to his first compliments; for whenever Pompey came into his presence, he rose up and uncovered his head, which he was rarely feen to do to any other person, though he had many. with him of great valour, as well as noble birth. Pompey however was not elated with these favours: and when Sylla would have fent him into Gaul, a province under the government of Metellus, because Metellus had done nothing worthy of that great army he commanded there, Pompey replied, That it could never be thought just or honourable for him, to extort a province out of the hand of an ancient general, and one of so much greater fame and experience than himfelf; however, if Metellus were willing, and would command his fervice, he should be very ready to accompany and affift him in the war. When Metellus had accepted his offer, and given him an invitation by letter, Pompey marched immediately into Gaul, where he, not only performed wonderful exploits himfelf, but also blew up and rekindled that bold and warlike fpirit, which old age had in a manner extinguished in Metellus; just as melted copper when poured upon that which is cold and folid, diffolves it faster. than fire itself. But as it is not usual to record the victories obtained in childhood by a wrestler who afterwards diftinguishes himself among men, and wins

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wins the prize from all his antagonists in the public games; in the same manner, though the early exploits of Pompey were great in themselves, yet as they were obscured and buried in the multitude and greatness of his later wars and conquests, I dare not be particular in describing them, lest, by spending too much time upon his youthful achievements, I should be tempted to omit those greater actions and enterprises which best discover his genius and

disposition.

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When Sylla had brought all Italy under his dominion, and was proclaimed dictator, he began to reward the rest of his followers by giving them estates and advancing them to places of honour and truft, largely and liberally gratifying every man according to his defire. But as he held Pompey's virtue and great qualities in the highest admiration. and thought that he might prove a great support to him hereafter in all his defigns, he was very folicitous to contract an alliance with him; and having likewise the approbation of his wife Metella, he perfuaded him to divorce Antiftia, and marry Amilia (the daughter in-law of Sylla, by Metella, and Scaurus her former husband), though she was at that very time the wife of another man, and with. child by him. This was a very tyrannical marriage; and it was much more agreeable to the times of Sylla, than to the nature and genius of Pompey, that Æmilia when big with child should be ravished from the embraces of another upon his account, and that Antiftia should be divorced dishonourably and cruelly by him for whose sake she had been. but just before bereft of her father; for her father. Antiftius was murdered in the fenate, because he. was suspected to be a favourer of Sylla for Pompey's fake. Her mother, when she faw these indignities, put an end to her own life. And that there might be nothing wanting to complete the tragedy of this marriage, marriage, Æmilia herfelf not long after died in

childbed at Pompey's house.

- About this time Sylla was informed that Perpenna had possessed himself of Sicily, whereby that island was now become a refuge for those who furvived of the adverse party; that Carbo was hovering about those seas with a navy; that Domitius had invaded Africa; and that many of the exiled nobles, who fled before they were profcribed, were daily flocking to those parts. Against these therefore was Pompey fent with a great army; and no fooner was he arrived in Sicily, but Perpenna departed thence, leaving the whole island to him. Pompey received the diffressed-cities into favour, and treated them all with great humanity, except that of the Mamertines in Messene; for when they protested against his jurisdiction, alleging their privilege and exemption founded upon an ancient grant of the Romans, he replied, What! will you never leave quoting laws to us who have our fwords by our sides? It is thought likewise, that he showed but little humanity to Carbo, and feemed to infult over his misfortunes. For if there had been a necessity (as perhaps there was) that he should be put to death, that ought to have been done at first, as foon as he was taken prisoner, for then it would have been the act of him that commanded it. But Pompey ordered a man who had been thrice conful of Rome to be brought in fetters to the bar, and he himself fitting upon the bench, examined the cause, and pronounced sentence of death upon him as upon a common malefactor, to the grief and indignation of all that were present; after which he commanded him to be taken away and put to death. It is reported of Carbo, that as foon as he faw the fword drawn for execution, he defired a little respite, and a convenient place to ease himself, he being fuddenly seized with a looseness. Caius Oppius,

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pius *, a particular friend of Cæfar, tells us, that Pompey dealt as barbaroufly with Quintus Valerius, a man of fingular learning; for when he was brought to him, he took him aside, and discoursed with him; and after a long conference, and full folution of all his questions, he ordered his officers to take him away and put him to death. But we must be very cautious in believing what Oppius relates concerning the friends or enemies of Cæfar. This is certain, that there lay a necessity upon Pompey to be fevere upon those of Sylla's enemies, who were persons of eminence, and were publicly taken; but as to the rest, he, as far as he was able, connived at the concealment of some, and himself affisted others to escape. When he had determined to punish severely the city of the Himeræans, because they fided with the enemy, Sthennius one of their orators craving audience of Pompey, told him, That it was unjust to pass by the guilty, and to punish the imocent. When Pompey asked him whom he meant by the guilty, Sthennius replied, myfelf; for I persuaded my friends, and forced my enemies to act as they have done. Pompey being much pleafed with his freedom and boldness of speech as well as with his magnanimity, first forgave him his crime, and then pardoned all the rest of the Himeræans. Pompey likewise hearing that his soldiers were very disorderly in their march, and committed great outrages, ordered their fwords to be fealed up in their fcabbards; and those who did not keep the feal entire, were feverely punished.

Whilst Pompey was thus bufy in fettling the af-

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^{*} The same that wrote an account of the Spanish war. He was likewise the author of several other works, among which was that of the lives of illustrious men; for his life of Cassius, of the first Scipio Africanus, and of Marius, are quoted by other writers. Suctonius reckons him among the most intimate of Cæsar's friends, and to show how zealous he was for him, he says that he had written a treatise on purpose to prove that Cæsario was not the son of Cæsar, as Cleopatra pretended,

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fairs of Sicily, he received a decree of the fenate and a commission from Sylla, commanding him to fail into Africa, and make war upon Domitius with all his forces. For Domitius had collected a far greater army than Marius had not long before, when he failed out of Africa into Italy, and extremely distreffed the Romans, being of a fugitive outlaw, become a tyrant. Pompey therefore having with great dispatch made the necessary preparations, and left Memmius, his fifter's husband, governour of Sicily, fet fail with an hundred and twenty galleys, and eight hundred other veffels, laden with provisions, money, arms, and military machines. Part of his fleet arrived at Utica, and part at Carthage; and no fooner was he landed, but feven thousand of the enemy revolted to him. The army which he brought with him-confifted of fix entire legions. They tell us of a pleasant accident that happened to him at his first arrival. Some of his foldiers having found a confiderable treasure, the rest imagined that the field was full of gold and filver, which had been hid there formerly by the Carthaginians in the time of their calamities; fo that the army was useless to Pompey for many days, being totally engaged in digging for the fancied treasure, he himself all the while walking up and down only, and laughing to fee fo many thousands together, digging and turning up the earth. But at last, growing weary and hopeless, they came to their general, begging him to lead them where he pleased, they having been sufficiently punished for their folly.

When Domitius had prepared himself, and drawn up his army in order of battle against Pompey, there happened to be a deep channel betwixt them, which was craggy, and difficult to pass over; this, together with a great storm of wind and rain which began in the morning and continued the rest of the day, seemed to show but little probability of their coming to an engagement. Domitius therefore

commanded

commanded his forces to draw off and retire to their camp. But Pompey, thinking this a favourable opportunity, ordered his men to march immediately; and having passed over the channel, they fell upon the enemy, who fought in a very confused tumultuous manner, they not being all collected together, nor ranged in order; besides, the wind having veered about, beat the rain full in their faces. The storm was also very troublesome to the Romans, and hindered them from clearly discerning one another; so that even Pompey himself being unknown, and being slow in his answer to one of his soldiers who asked him the word, was

in great danger of his life.

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The enemy being routed with a great flaughter, (for it is faid, that of twenty thousand there escaped but three thousand), the army faluted Pompey by the title of Imperator; but he declined it, telling them, That he-could not by any means accept of that title, as long as the enemy's camp remained untouched; but if they designed to make him worthy the honour, that was first to be demolished. The foldiers hearing this, immediately affaulted the trenches; and there Pompey fought without his helmet, to avoid the danger to which he had been exposed before. The camp was taken, and Domitius was flain upon the place. After that overthrow, Pompey made himself master of all the cities thereabouts, some being furrendered, and others taken by storm. King Hiarbas likewise, a confederate and auxiliary of Domitius, was taken prisoner, and his kingdom given to Hiempfal.

Pompey being ambitious to improve the good fortune and valour of his army, invaded Numidia, and marching forward many days journey into the country, he conquered all where-ever he came, refolving, that, by his means, the Roman name, which began to be flighted among the barbarous nations, should again appear as formidable as ever; nay, he Vol. IV. faid, That the wild beafts of Africa ought not to be left without some experience of the courage and success of the Romans; and therefore he spent a few days in hunting lions and elephants. It is said, that, within the space of forty days at most, he gave a total overthrow to the enemy, reduced Africa, and settled the affairs of the kings of all that country, though

he was then but twenty-four years of age.

When Pompey returned to Utica, he received letters from Sylla, commanding him to difband the rest of his army, and with one legion only to wait there till another general came to fucceed him. This was extremely mortifying to Pompey, though he did not fuffer his discontent to appear; but the 'army refented it openly, and when Pompey befought them to depart home before him, they began to revile Sylla, and faid, That they were refolved not to for sake him, neither did they think it safe for him to trust the tyrant. Notwithstanding this, Pompey endeavoured to appeale and pacify them; but when he faw that all his perfuasions were vain, he left the tribunal, and retired to his tent with tears in his eyes; but the foldiers followed him, and feizing upon him by force, brought him back to the tribunal; where great part of that day was spent in dispute, they perfuading him to stay and command them, and he, on the other fide, preffing them to be obedient, and not to raise a mutiny. But at last, when they grew more importunate and clamorous, he fwore, That he would kill himself if they attempted to force him; and yet even this would scarcely appeafe them. The first news that Sylla received was that Pompey had revolted; upon which he faid to some of his friends, I fee then it is my destiny to contend with children in my old age: for Marius when very young had greatly embarraffed him, and brought him into extreme danger. But Sylla being undeceived afterwards by a better intelligence, and finding that the whole city had defigned to meet Pompey, and receive him with the greatest kindness and respect, he himself endeavoured to exceed them all in civility, and therefore going out foremost to meet him, and embracing him with great eagerness, he faluted him aloud with the title of Pompey the Great, and commanded all those that were present to call him by that name. Others fay, that he had this title first given him by a general acclamation of the army in Africa, but that it was confirmed and ratified by Sylla. It is certain however, that he himself was the last that owned the title; for it was a long time after, when he was fent proconful into Spain against Sertorius, that he began to subscribe himself in his letters and commissions, by the name of Pompey the Great; for then the invidiousness of the title was worn off by its being common and familiar. Hence the wisdom of the ancient Romans may be justly reverenced and admired; for they not only rewarded martial courage, and fuccess in war with fuch honourable titles, but adorned likewife the virtues and fervices of eminent men in the civil government with the fame distinctions and characters of honour; accordingly the people gave the name of Maximus, i. e. greatest, to two persons; to Valerius*, for having reconciled the senate to the people when they were at variance, and to Fabius Rullus +, for having expelled from the fenate fome fons of enfranchifed flaves, who had been elected into it on account of their riches.

Pompey upon his return to Rome defired the honour of a triumph, which Sylla opposed, alleging, That the law allowed that honour to none but confuls and prætors; that therefore Scipio the elder, who subdued the Carthaginians in Spain, in far greater and nobler

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^{*} This was Marcus Valerius, the brother of Valerius Poplicola, who was dictator. This happened in the year of Rome 260, four hundred and twelve years before Pompey's services in Africa.

[†] This honour was not bestowed on Fabius Rullus for the reason here assigned. See vol. ii. p. 58. n. *.

conflicts, never petitioned for a triumph, because he was neither conful nor prætor; and that if Pompey, whose beard was hardly grown, and who was not yet of age to be a fenator, should enter the city in triumph, such an honour would both expose him to envy, and render Sylla's government odious. These were the arguments Sylla used against Pompey, at the same time declaring that he would not fuffer him to triumph, but that if he still persisted in his pretensions, he would forcibly restrain his obstinacy and ambition. Pompey was not at all terrified, but bid Sylla confider that more worshipped the rising than the setting sun; intimating that his power was increasing, and Sylla's on the decline. Sylla did not perfectly hear the words; but observing a fort of amazement and wonder in the looks and gestures of those that did hear them, he asked what it was he faid: when it was told him, he was very much furprifed at the boldness of Pompey, and cried out twice together. Let him triumph, let him triumph. But when others began to show their refentment and disdain, Pompey, as it is faid, to mortify them the more, defigned to have his chariot drawn by four elephants, having brought over feveral which he had taken from the African kings; but the gates of the city being too narrow, he was forced to defift from that project, and make use of horses. Some of his soldiers who had failed of fome reward which they expected, began to clamour, and were disposed to prevent the triumph; but Pompey faid, that he regarded them not, and that he had rather lofe his triumph, than flatter them. Upon this Servilius, a person of great quality, and at first one of the chiefest oppofers of Pompey's triumph, faid, Now I perceive that Pompey is truly great, and worthy of a triumph. It is not to be doubted that he might eafily have been made a fenator at that time if he would, yet he did not fue for that, being ambitious of more unufual honours. For it would not have been furprising

for Pompey to fit in the senate before his time; but to triumph before he was of the senate, was an how

nour altogether unufual and fingular.

This triumph did not a little ingratiate him with the people; for they were extremely pleased to see. him after his triumph take his place again among the Roman knights.. But it was very ungrateful to Sylla to fee how fast he advanced in power and reputation; however he continued quiet, being ashamed to oppose him. But when by force, and against Sylla's will, Pompey procured the consulship for Lepidus *, having by his own interest brought him into favour with the people, Sylla feeing him after the election croffing the forum with a great train after him, faid to him, I fee, young man, you rejoice in your conquest; and surely it was a noble action to employ your interest with the people to nominate Lepidus to the confulship before Catulus, and to prefer the worst to the best of men. But take care not to sumber; you must now exert your utmost vigilance and attention; for you have raised a dangerous enemy to greater power than yourfelf. But that which gave the clearest demonstration of Sylla's diflike to Pompey, was his last will; for though he had bequeathed feveral legacies to. all the rest of his friends, and appointed some of them guardians to his fon, he took no notice of Pompey. However Pompey bore this with great moderation; fo that when Lepidus and others obftructed his interment in the Campus Martius, and would not allow him to be buried publicly, her came and attended the funeral himself, and by his presence gave it both honour and security.

Shortly after the death of Sylla, that prophetic speech of his to Pompey concerning Lepidus was fulfilled. For Lepidus usurped the authority that Sylla had, not in an indirect manner or on specious pretences; but he immediately took up arms, ha-

^{*} M. Æmilius Lepidus, who by Pompey's interest was declared consul with Q. Lutatius Catulus in the year of Rome 675.

ving stirred up again, and called into his affistance the broken remains of Marius's faction that had escaped the vengeance of Sylla, Catulus his colleague, who was followed by the best and most uncorrupt part of the senate and people, was a man the most esteemed of any among the Romans for his temperance and justice; but his talents were rather political than military. As the exigency of affairs required therefore that Pompey should interpose, he was not long in suspense which party he should follow, but joining with the nobility, was appointed general of the army against Lepidus, who had already over-run the greatest part of Italy, and likewise taken possession of Gallia Cisalpina with an army under the conduct of Brutus. As for the rest of his garrisons, Pompey subdued them with ease in his march, but Mutina in Gaul engaged him in a formal fiege; and he lay a long time there encamped against Brutus. In the mean time Lepidus marched in all hafte against Rome, and fitting down before it with a mixed rabble, which he had collected from all quarters, demanded a fecond confulship, and struck no small terrour into the befieged. But their fear quickly vanished, upon receiving some letters from Pompey, which informed them that he had ended the war without a battle. For Brutus, either betraying his army, or being betrayed by them, furrendered himfelf to Pompey, who ordered a party of horse to conduct him to a little town on the Po, where he was flain the next day by Geminius, whom Pompey fent this ther for that purpose. Upon this, Pompey was feverely censured; for having at first written to the fenate, and informed them, that Brutus had voluntarily furrendered himfelf, he afterwards fent other letters, containing matter of accusation against the man, after he had put him to death. This Brutus was the father of him, who together with Cassius slew Cæsar, and who neither in war, nor

in, his death, was like his father, as we have mentioned in his life. Lepidus upon this being driven out of Italy, fled to Sardinia, where he fell fick and died of grief, not on account of these missortunes, but, as it is said, because he happened to meet with a letter which discovered to him his wife's

infidelity.

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During these transactions Sertorius, a commander very unlike to Lepidus, had possessed himself of Spain, and was grown formidable to the Romans: all the remains of the preceding civil wars being collected in him, just as vitious humours in a dangerous disease, flow all together to one distempered part. This man had already destroyed several inferiour commanders, and was now engaged with Metellus Pius, a general of great merit and reputation, though perhaps he might now feem too flow. by reason of his age, to improve the happier moments of war, and might fometimes lofe the advantages he had, as Sertorius by his quickness and activity was continually ready to wrest them out of his hands: for he was always hovering about, and coming upon him unawares, like a captain of thieves rather than foldiers, and harafling him perpetually with ambuscades, and light skirmishes; whereas Metellus was accustomed to nothing but regular conduct, and to fighting in battle-array with his legionary foldiers. Pompey therefore have ving his army in readiness, used all his interest that he might be fent to the affistance of Metellus; neither would he disband his forces, notwithstanding Catulus had commanded it, but upon fome pretence or other he still kept them in arms about the city, till the fenate at last thought fit to decree him that government. Lucius Philippus was the first that moved it in the fenate, where they fay one of the fenators being furprifed at the motion, demanded of Philip whether his meaning was, That Pompey should be sent into Spain pro consule, [i. e. as a conful's

ful's deputy]. No, replied Philip, but pro confulibus. [i. e. as the deputy of both confuls]; intimating, that the confuls for that year were men of no merit or cafacity. When Pompey was arrived in Spain, men began to entertain new hopes, (for the fame of a new general commonly produces this effect), and those nations that had not entered into a very frict league with Sertorius, began to waver and revolt. Upon this Sertorius spoke in a very arrogant and fcornful manner of Pompey, faying in derifion, That he should want no other weapon but a ferula and rod to chastife this boy with, if he were not afraid of that. old woman, meaning Metellus. But notwithstanding this he was in reality afraid of Pompey, and was observed ever after to stand better upon his guard, and to act more warily than before. For Metellus (which one would not have imagined) was grown very debauched in his life, having given himfelf up to pleasure, and changed on a sudden his former moderation and temperance for luxury, prodigality, and pride. So that Pompey was upon this account the more loved and esteemed for contracting his expenses, and giving an example of frugality, although that virtue was habitual to him, and required no great labour to exercise it, for he was naturally inclined to temperance, and was moderate in his defires:

The fuccess of this war was various; but that which gave the greatest concern to Pompey, was the taking of the city of Lauron by Sertorius. For when Pompey thought he had inclosed him, and had boasted greatly of raising the siege, he found himself encompassed on a sudden; so that he durst not move out of his camp, but was forced to sit still, and see the city burnt before his face. However in an engagement near Valentia he deseated Herennius and Perpenna, two experienced commanders, who had joined Sertorius, and served as lieutenants under him, and slew above ten thousand

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of their men. Pompey being elated with this victory, made hafte to engage Sertorius himself, and the rather left Metellus should come in for a share in the honour of the victory: fo that, in the evening towards funfet, they joined battle near the river Sucron, both wishing Metellus not to come, Pompey, that he might engage in the combat-alone, Sertorius, that he might engage but with Pompey alone. The iffue of the battle was doubtful, for one wing on each fide was victorious; but of the generals, Sertorius had the greater honour, for he defeated those who were opposed to him. As to Pompey, he was attacked on horseback by one of the enemy's infantry, a man of extraordinary stature; as they were closely engaged, the ftrokes of their fwords chanced to light upon each other's hand, but with different fuccess; for Pompey only received a flight wound, whereas he lopt off the other's hand: however, Pompey being attacked by a great number of the enemy at once, and his own forces there being put to the rout, made his escape beyond expectation, by quitting his horse, and turning him among the enemy; for as the horse had golden trappings, and other ornaments of great value, the foldiers quarrelled among themselves for the booty, so that while they were fighting with one another, and dividing the spoil, Pompey made his escape. By break of day the next morning each drew out his forces into the field to confirm the victory, to which each of them laid claim; but Metellus coming up, Sertorius and his whole army vanished on a sudden. For in such a manner did he use to raise and disband his forces; to that fometimes he would be wandering up and down all alone, and quickly after would appear at the head of an army confifting of a hundred and fifty thousand men, who came pouring into the field like a torrent fuddenly swelled by a violent; shower of rain. After

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After the battle, Pompey went to receive and welcome Metellus, and when he came near him, he commanded his lictors to lower their rods in honour of Metellus as his superiour officer; but Metellus on the other fide forbade it, and behaved to him in every respect with great civility, not claiming any prerogative either on account of his confular dignity or his feniority; excepting only that when they encamped together, the watch-word was given to the whole camp by Metellus. But generally they encamped separately, being divided and diftracted by the art and address of the enemy, who being always in motion, would appear in different places almost in the same instant, drawing them from one skirmish to another. At last by cutting off their provisions, by wasting the country, and making himself master of the sea, he drove them both out of that part of Spain which was committed to their care, and forced them for want of necessaries to retreat into the provinces of others.

Pompey having expended the greatest part of his own estate upon the war, fent to the senate, and demanded money of them, adding, that if they did not furnish him speedily, he should be forced to return into Italy with his army. Lucullus was conful at that time; and though he was an enemy to Pompey, yet as he was foliciting for the command in the war against Mithridates, he procured and haftened the fupplies, fearing left there should be any pretence given to Pompey for returning home, who himself was desirous to leave Sertorius, and to undertake the war against Mithridates, esteeming that enterprise more honourable and less difficult. In the mean Sertorius died, being treacherously murdered by some of his own party. Perpenna, who was chief of them, undertook to fupply his place, having indeed the same forces, and the same warlike stores and provisions, but not the fame skill to use them. Pompey therefore marched directly

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directly against Perpenna, and finding him ignorant and perplexed in his affairs, laid a fnare for him by fending out a detachment of ten cohorts with orders to range up and down the fields, and disperse themselves abroad; and while Perpenna was employed in attacking and purfuing them, Pompey appeared fuddenly with all his army, and joining battle, gave him a total overthrow; fo that most of his commanders were flain in the field, and he himself being brought prisoner to Pompey, was by his order put to death. Nor should we on this account, as fome have done, cenfure Pompey as being ungrateful, and as forgetting his transactions with Perpenna in Sicily; fince it is clear, that what he did in this case, was the effect of consummate prudence, and of his attention to the fafety of his country. For Perpenna having in his custody all Sertorius's papers, showed several letters from the greatest men in Rome, who intending to subvert the government, had invited Sertorius into Italy; wherefore Pompey fearing left by these he should kindle a more terrible war than that which had been already extinguished, thought it expedient both to put Perpenna to death, and likewife to burn the letters without reading them.

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After this Pompey spent so much time in Spain, as was necessary for surpressing the tumults in that province: and as soon as he had allayed the violent heats and settled the affairs there, he returned with his army into Italy, where he arrived just in the height of the servile war. Upon the approach of Pompey, Crassus, who was general in that war, made all the expedition imaginable to give them battle, wherein he showed more ambition than prudence; however the event answered his wishes, for he slew upon the spot twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy. And yet, notwithstanding all his foresight and diligence, it was ordained by fortune that Pompey should share with him in the glory of

the fuccess: for five thousand of them who had escaped out of the battle fell into his hands; wherefore when he had totally destroyed them, that he might be beforehand with Craffus, he wrote to the fenate, That Craffus indeed had overthrown the gladiators in battle, but that he had plucked up the war itself by the roots. This the Romans heard and spoke of with pleasure, from their affection to Pompey, which was fo great, that of all the exploits in Spain against Sertorius, they would not suffer one, even in jest, to be ascribed to any person but Pompey. And yet this great honour and veneration was accompanied with fears and jealousies, that he would not disband his foldiers, but treading in Sylla's steps would usurp the fovereign power, and maintain himself in it by force of arms *; so that among all those who ran out to meet him and congratulate him upon his return, as many went out of fear as affection. Pompey however removed this suspicion, by declaring beforehand, that he would discharge the army after his triumph. But those that envied him ftill complained that he affected popularity, and courted the common people more than the nobility, and that whereas Sylla had destroyed the power and authority of the people, he defigned to gratify them by restoring it; which was very true, for there was not any thing that the people of Rome more passionately defired than the restoration of the tribunitial power. Pompey therefore thought himfelf extremely fortunate in this opportunity, defpairing (if he were prevented in this) of ever meeting with any other fuch occasion of expressing his gratitude for all those favours which he had re-

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^{*} No body doubted but that was his defign, which made Cicero tell Atticus, in epift. vii. lib. 9. "Our friend Pompey is wonderfully defirous to obtain a power like that of Sylla." I tell you no more than what I certainly knew; he makes no fecret of it." And epift. x. lib. 9. "Pompey has been forming this shameful design for these two years past, so strongly has his mind been bent upon imitating Sylla, and proscribing like him."

ceived from the people. But though a fecond triumph was decreed him *, and he was declared conful, yet all these honours were not so strong an evidence of his power and greatness, as the afcendant which he had over Craffus: for he who in wealth. dignity, and eloquence, furpaffed all the ftatefmen of his time, and who despised even Pompey himfelf and all others as beneath him, durft not appear a candidate for the confulfhip before he had demanded Pompey's leave and protection. Pompey very readily espoused his interest, for he had a long time fought an occasion of obliging him, and of contracting a friendship with him; fo that he earneftly folicited for Craffus, and entreated the people, declaring, That their favour would be no less to him in chusing Crassus his colleague, than in making himfelf conful. But notwithstanding this, when they were created confuls, they were always at variance, and continually opposed each other. Craffus prevailed most in the senate, and Pompey's power was no less with the people; for he restored to them the office of tribune, and had fuffered the judicial power again to be transferred to the knights by a law +. But he himself afforded them the most grateful spectacle, when he appeared and craved his discharge from war. For it was a custom among the Romans, that the knights when they had ferved out their legal time in the war, should lead their horses into the forum before the two censors, and having named the commanders and generals under whom they had ferved, and given an account of their behaviour during their fervice, should be dif-

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^{*} He triumphed towards the end of the year of Rome 682, and at the same time was declared consul for the year ensuing. This was a peculiar honour, to be declared consul before he had borne any other office in the government; but his two triumphs might well serve to excuse that singularity.

[†] L. Aurelius Cotta carried that law when he was prætor, and Plutarch says again, because Caius Gracchus had conveyed that right to the knights fifty years before,

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charged every man with honour or diffrace according to his deferts. The two cenfors, Gellius and Catulus, were fitting in great folemnity, and the knights were passing under examination before them, when Pompey was feen afar off coming into the forum, with all the enfigns of confular authority, but himself leading his horse in his hand. As he drew near, he commanded his officers to make way, and then led his horse to the tribunal; the people were all this while in amazement, and in profound filence, and the cenfors showed him great respect, and at the same time seemed highly pleased with his behaviour. Then the fenior cenfor addreffed him thus, Pompey the Great, I demand of thee, whether thou hast served out all that time in the wars that is prescribed by the law? Pompey replied with a loud voice, I have served it all, and all under myself as general. At this the people gave a great shout, and were fo transported with joy, that there was no filencing their exclamations. But the cenfors rifing from their tribunal, accompanied him home to gratify the multitude, who followed after clapping their hands, and shouting with great joy.

Pompey's confulship being now expiring, and the mifunderstanding betwixt him and Crassus increafing every day, one Caius Aurelius of the equestrian order, a man who had always declined public business, ascended the rostrum, and addressed himself to the people in a full affembly, declaring that Jupiter had appeared to him in a dream, commanding him to tell the confuls, That they should not quit their office till they were reconciled. Pompey upon hearing this flood filent; but Craffus first giving him his hand and saluting him, spoke in this manner, I cannot think, O Romans, that I do any thing mean or dishonourable, in yielding first to Pompey, whom you were pleased to surname the Great even while he was a beardless youth, and to whom you granted two triumphs before he had a place in the senate. Upon this

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this they were reconciled, and laid down their office. Craffus kept to his former manner of life; but Pompey pleaded causes very seldom, and by degrees quitted the forum; he rarely appeared in public, and whenever he did, it was with a great train accompanying him; neither was it eafy to meet or visit him but in the midst of a croud of attendants; for his delight was to appear guarded with a numerous retinue, by which he attracted refpect and veneration, and preferved his dignity from being fullied by the company and conversation of the multitude. For men who have grown great by arms, cannot eafily stoop to that popular equality which always prevails in a commonwealth, and therefore are in danger of finking into contempt when they change their manner of life; for they naturally expect to be efteemed as much superiour to others in the city, as they were in the field; whereas those who have not distinguished themfelves in the camp, cannot endure to be inferiour in the city too; and therefore when they fee a commander who is fignalifed by his victories and triumphs, applying himfelf to the bufiness of the forum, they endeavour to lessen and depress him; whereas if he refigns to them the pre-eminence in: civil business, they will contentedly allow him to enjoy the glory of his military exploits. This appeared not long after by the event.

The power of the pirates first appeared in Cilicia. They were at the beginning little taken notice of *; but their courage and confidence much increased during the war with Mithridates, when they hired themselves out, and became auxiliaries in the king's service. Afterwards, whilst the Ro-

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^{*} The Romans did not apply in earnest to that war till the year of Rome 674, nine years before this consulship of Pompey, though it had been the occasion of many disorders, which they were not at leifure to remedy whilst they had other wars both civil and foreign upon their hands, Vid, Flor, lib, iii, cap. 6.

mans were embroiled in their civil wars, and were fighting against one another even before the very gates of Rome, the feas lay neglected and unguarded, which by degrees encouraged them not only to attack the merchants and ships upon the sea, but also to lay waste the islands and fea-port towns. Many persons of great wealth and noble birth, and diftinguished for their capacity, embarked with them, and entered into their fociety, as if their employment had been in the highest degree honourable and worthy of their ambition. They had feveral arfenals and harbours, and watch-towers well fortified. They had a fleet well equipped, and well manned with flout failors and expert pilots; their thips were very light and fwift, and well built for fervice: but their magnificence was still more mortifying than their force was terrible; for the sterns of their ships were gilt, their canopies were of the finest purple, and their oars were covered with filver; with fuch wanton pride and luxury did they feem to triumph in their villany. Their music and dancing, their banquetting and revelling on every coast, the great officers who were made prisoners by them, and the towns which they laid under contribution, were the reproach and dishonour of the Roman empire. Their fleet confifted of above a thousand ships, and they had taken no less than four hundred cities, and plundered those temples which till then had been held facred and inviolable, fuch as those of Apollo at Didyme and Claros *, that of the Cabiri in Samothracia, of Ceres in the city of Hermione +, of Æsculapius in Epidaurus,

+ Some translators have rendered this by the temple of Tellus, or the earth; though there never was any such temple in the city of Hermione, but there was a very famous one there dedicated to Ceres.

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^{*} There was in the territories of Miletus, a place called Didyme where Apollo had a temple and oracle, and was from thence called Didymeus Apollo. Pausanias tells us that this temple was more ancient than the Ionic migration. Claros was also a town in Ionia where there was a mountain and a grove sacred to Apollo.

those of Neptune in the Isthmus, at Tænarus, and in the isle of Calauria, those of Apollo at Actium, and in the isle of Leucas, and those of Juno at Samos, Argos, and the promontory of Lacinium. They likewise offered strange sacrifices, such as are performed at Olympus *, and practifed certain mysterious ceremonies, among which those of Mithres have been preferved down to our age, having their original and first institution from them +. But befide these piracies by sea, they were yet more injurious to the Romans by land; for they would oftengo ashore and rob upon the highways; plundering and destroying their country-houses near the sea: and once they feized upon two Roman prætors, Sextilius, and Bellinus, in their purple robes, and carried them off, together with their lictors. daughter also of Antonius (a man who had received the honour of a triumph) was feized as she was going to her country-feat, and was obliged to pay a Nay, their infolence great fum for her ranfom. rose to such a pitch, that when any one of the captives declared himself to be a Roman and told his name, they pretended to be furprifed and terrified, fmote their thighs, and fell down at his feet, befeeching him to forgive them. The credulous captive feeing them fo humble and fuppliant, believed them to be in earnest; for some were so officious as to put on his shoes, others helped him on with his gown, left his quality should be mistaken again. At last when they had mocked him long enough, they let down a ladder from the fide of the ship into the sea, bid him depart, and wished him

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^{*} Plutarch does not mean Mount Olympus, but the city of Olympus near Phaselis in Pamphylia, which was one of the receptacles of those pirates. What fort of sacrifices they used to perform there, is not known.

[†] Herodotus says that the Persians adored Venus under the name of Mithres; but the most common opinion is, that Mithres was the sun,

a good journey home; when he refused, they threw

him overboard, and drowned him.

The whole Tuscan sea was so infested by these pirates, that navigation and commerce was entirely stopped. The Romans therefore finding themfelves straitened in their markets, and fearing lest a famine should ensue, determined to send out Pompey to recover the dominion of the sea from these And Gabinius, one of Pompey's friends, proposed a law which invested him not only with the supreme command of the fleet, but with an univerfal and unlimited power *. For by that decree his authority was to extend over all the feas within the Pillars of Hercules, and over the whole continent for the space of four hundred furlongs from the fea; and there were but few regions under the Roman empire which were out of that compass, and all the most considerable nations and kings were included in it. Besides, by this decree he had a power of electing, for his affiftance, fifteen lieutenants out of the fenate, and of affigning particular provinces to each; he was authorifed also to take out of the treasury, and of the publicans, what money he pleased, to fit out a fleet of two hundred ships, and to raise as many foldiers and feamen as he thought proper. When this law was read, the common people approved of it exceedingly; but the most considerable men of the fenate looked upon this exorbitant and unbounded power as too great to be envied, and as a

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^{*} He was then tribune of the people in the year of Rome 686, fixty-five years before the birth of our Saviour, Pompey being then thirty-eight years old. Cicero has given us the character of this Gabinius in the fecond oration after his return, where he represents him in the following odious colours. "If he had not taken fanctuary in his office of tribune, and fled thither as to an inviolable altar, he would never have escaped the authority of the prætor, nor the number of his creditors, nor have prevented the confiscation of his estate; and if in that office he had not carried the law for the war against the pirates, his poverty and iniquity together would have made him turn pirate himself."

real object of fear. They all agreed therefore to oppose the passing of the law except Cæsar, who gave his vote for it, not fo much to gratify Pompey as the people, with whom he was defirous to ingratiate himself as early as possible. The rest inveighed bitterly against Pompey; and one of the confuls told him, That if he followed the footsteps of Romulus, he would scarce avoid his end; but he was in danger of being torn in pieces by the multitude for this speech. Yet when Catulus stood up to speak against the law, the people in reverence to him were very filent and attentive. He therefore, after he had, without the least appearance of envy, fpoken largely in honour of Pompey, began to advise the people in kindness to spare him, and not to expose a man of his importance to such continual. dangers and wars: For, faid he, where could you find such another? Or whom would you chuse if you should lose him? They all cried out with one voice, Yourfelf.. Catulus therefore finding his arguments in-Then Roscius attempted to effectual, desisted. fpeak, but no one would liften to him; wherefore he made figns with his fingers, intimating, that Pompey should not have the fole command, but that a colleague should be named in the decree with him: upon this; the multitude being extremely incenfed, made fuch a violent exclamation, that a crow flying over the forum at that instant, was flunned, and dropt down among the croud; from which it appears, that when birds fall to the ground on fuch occasions, it is not because the air is so broken and divided by the shock as to leave a total vacuity, but because they are struck down as with a blow, by the violent agitation which fo loud a found produces in the air.

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The affembly broke up that day, without coming to any refolution. When the day came for the people to give their suffrages, Pompey went privately into the country; but hearing that the

Taw was passed, he returned again into the city by night, to avoid the envy that might arise from that concourse of people who would otherwise have gone to meet and congratulate him. The next morning he came abroad and facrificed to the gods, and having called an affembly, he prevailed on the people to grant him many things befide what were already granted, and almost to double the preparations appointed in the former decree: for five hundred ships, and an army of an hundred and twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse, were allowed him; there were chosen likewise for his lieutenants, twenty-four fenators, who had been prætors, or generals of armies, and to these were added two quæstors. It happened within this time that the price of provisions was much abated, which gave an occasion to the people to fay in their joy, That the very name of Pompey had already ended the war. However Pompey, in pursuance of his charge, divided the whole Mediterranean into thirteenparts, alloting a fleet to each under the command of one of his lieutenants; and having thus dispersed his forces into all quarters, and, as it were, inclofed the pirates in his nets, he took great numbers of them, and brought them into harbour. As for those who withdrew themselves betimes, and escaped his pursuit, they all retired to Cilicia, where they hid themselves as in a hive. Pompey designed to purfue them thither with fixty of his best ships; but first he resolved to destroy those who remained nearer home, in the Tuscan sea, or on the coasts of Africa, Sardinia, Corfica, and Sicily; and this he performed in the space of forty days by his own indefatigable industry, and the diligence of his lieutenants.

Pompey having met with some obstruction at Rome, through the resentment and envy of Piso the conful, who had wasted his stores and discharged his seamen, sent his sleet round to Brundusium.

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and went himself by land through Tuscany to Rome. As foon as this was known to the people, they all flocked out to meet him upon the way, though but a few days had paffed fince they attended him at his departure. But that which occasioned their greatest joy, was the sudden and unexpected change in the markets, which now were plentifully furnished with provisions; so that Piso was in great danger of being deprived of his confulship, Gabinus having a law ready drawn up for that purpose; but Pompey forbade it, behaving in that, as in all things elfe, with great moderation; by which having obtained all that he defired, he departed for Brundusium, whence he set sail in purfuit of the pirates. Though he was straitened in time, and his hafty voyage forced him to fail by feveral famous cities without stopping, yet he would not pass by the city of Athens. Having landed there, he facrificed to the gods, and made an oration to the people; and as he was returning out of the city, he read at the gates two inscriptions in honour of him, each confifting of a fingle verse. That within the gate was this;

Thy humbler thoughts make thee a god the more.

The other without the gate was,

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We wish'd and saw, we honour and adore.

Pompey having shown himself merciful to some of that swarm of thieves, who were not yet quite dispersed, but continued to rove about the seas, (for he had upon their supplication ordered a seizure of their ships and persons only, without any surther severity), the rest of their comrades, in hopes of mercy too, made their escape from his other commanders, and surrendered themselves with their wives and children to him. Pompey pardoned all that came in, and the rather, because by them he might make a discovery of those who sled from his

his justice, as conscious that their crimes were beyond forgiveness, The greatest part of these, and the most considerable men among them, conveyed their families and treasures, and all useless persons into castles and fortified towns about Mount Taurus; but they themselves having well manned their galleys, embarked at Coracefium in Cicilia, where they waited for Pompey and gave him battle. Here they had a total overthrow, upon which they retired into the fort, and Pompey immediately befreged them. At last, having dispatched their heralds to him with a fubmiffion, they delivered up to him themselves, their towns, islands, and strong holds, all which they had fortified in fuch a manner as to render them almost impregnable and inaccessible.

Thus was this war ended, and the whole power of the pirates at fea diffolved every where in the fpace of three months. Beside a great number of other veffels, Pompey took ninety ships armed with brazen beaks. He likewise took above twenty thoufand prisoners, whom he was unwilling to put to death, though he thought it dangerous to fuffer them to disperse, left they might reunite and make head again, as they were numerous, poor, and warlike. Therefore, confidering that man by nature is not a wild favage creature, but becomes fuch only by an unnatural and vitious habit, and that he is reclaimed and civilized by a change of place, conversation, and manner of life, as beasts that are wild, by nature become tame and tractable by being kept and fed in a mild domestic manner, he determined to remove these pirates from the sea to the land, and to give them a taste of an innocent and humane course of life, by settling them in cities, and accustoming them to agriculture. Some therefore were placed in the fmall and unpeopled towns of the Cicilians, mixing and incorporating with the few inhabitants there, who, on account of this addition to their number, obtained an enlarge-

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ment of their territories. Others he fixed in the city of the Solians, which he repaired, it having been lately ruined and depopulated by Tigranes king of Armenia. He also sent a great number to Dyme, a city of Achaia, which was very thin of inhabitants, though it had a large and fruitful territo-This conduct, however, was cenfured by those who envied and hated him; but his behaviour to Metellus in Crete, was disapproved even by his best friends. For Metellus (a relation of him who had been colleague with Pompey in Spain) was fent prætor into Crete some time before the command in this war was given to Pompey. Crete was the chief nursery of these pirates next to Cicilia; and Metellus having apprehended many of them there, put them to death. Those who yet remained, and were befieged, fent to Pompey, and invited him into the island, alleging that it belonged to his province, as every part of it was within that distance from the sea to which his jurisdiction extended. Pompey receiving their fubmission, wrote to Metellus, commanding him to defift from the war: he also commanded the cities not to pay any obedience to Metellus, and fent Lucius Octavius, one of his lieutenants, to command in his stead. tavius being arrived in Crete, entered the befieged fortifications, and fought in defence of the pirates. This rendered Pompey not only odious, but even ridiculous; for what could be more abfurd, than, out of envy to Metellus, to lend his name and auhority to fuch impious and abandoned wretches, to be used as a kind of charm to protect them? For even Achilles is not thought to have acted the part cent of a wife man, but rather of a giddy youth madly n cilesirous of glory, when by figns he forbade the rest ome pled of the Grecians to strike at Hector;

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And great Achilles, lest some Greeks advance Should Inatch the glory from his lifted lance,

Sign'd to his troops to yield the foe his way, And leave untouch'd the honours of the day. Pope.

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But Pompey outdid even Achilles on this occasion: for he fought to defend and preserve a common enemy, only that he might deprive a Roman prætor, after all his labours, of the honour of a triumph. Metellus however would not defift from the attack, and when he had stormed the place, he put all the pirates to death; after which he publicly reproached and difgraced Octavius before the whole

camp, and then dismissed him.

When it was reported at Rome, that the war with the pirates was at an end, and that Pompey being quite unemployed fpent his time in vifiting the different cities, Manilius, a tribune of the people, proposed a law, That Pompey should have all the forces of Lucullus, and the provinces, under his government, together with Bithynia, which was then under the command of Glabrio; and that he should make war upon Mithridates and Tigranes, retaining still the same naval forces and the sovereignty of the seas as before. But this was nothing less than to constitute one absolute monarch of all the Roman empire; for the only provinces which feemed to be exempt from his government by the former decree, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, the Upper Colchis, and Armenia, were all affigned to him by this latter law, together with all the forces with which Lucullus had defeated Mithridates and Tigranes. But though Lucullus was thus robbed of the glory of his achievements, by having a fucceffor affigned him rather in the honour of his triumph than in the danger of the war; yet this was not what the fenate and nobility chiefly confidered, notwithstanding they were very fensible that Lucullus had been unjustly and ungratefully treated. They were principally concerned to fee a tyranny established by this increase of Pompey's power; and therefore

they exhorted and encouraged one another privately to exert all their force in opposition to this law, and not to give up their liberties at once. when the day came, their courage failed them for fear of the people, and they all remained filent except Catulus, who boldly inveighed against the law. But finding that his speech had no effect upon any of the people, he turned to the fenate, and cried out feveral times from the roftrum, bidding them feek out some mountain * or rock as their forefathers had done, whither they might fly to preserve their liberty. The law however, as it is faid, was passed by the suffrages of all the tribes. Thus was Pompey even in his absence invested with almost all that power which Sylla obtained by arms, and by the conquest of the city. When Pompey had advice by letters of the decree, and his friends came to congratulate him, he frowned and struck his thigh; and, as if he had been overcharged already, and weary of government, cried out, What an endless succession of labours! how much better for me would it be were I obscure and unknown! Must my life be spent in perpetual wars? Shall I never be out of the reach of envy, and live in a rural retirement with my wife? But even his best friends could not endure fuch gross hypocrify, well knowing that his joy was the greater as his natural ambition was now inflamed by his enmity to Lucullus. His real disposition was foon discovered by his actions; for, in the first place, he sent out his edicts into all quarters, commanding all the foldiers to refort to him; then he fummoned all the tributary kings and princes; and in all places through which he passed, he altered every thing that had been done and established by Lucullus; to

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^{*} Some think that this alludes to the retreat into the facred mount. But as that was a fecession of the Plebians, and this speech is addressed to the senate, others think that the allusion is to the retreat into the Capitol (which was built on the Tarpeian rock) upon the approach of the Gauls.

fome he remitted their fines and penalties, and others he deprived of their rewards. And after this manner did he act in all things, being zealous to show to the admirers of Lucullus that all his power and authority was now at an end. But as Lucullus complained of these proceedings, and expostulated with him by his friends, it was agreed that they should have a conference; and accordingly they met in the country of Galatia. As they were both great generals, and had diftinguished themselves by their exploits and victories, they came in state, attended with their lictors bearing their rods before them wreathed about with branches of laurel. Lucullus came through a country full of green and shady groves, but Pompey's march was through large plains, which were dry and barren. Pompey's laurels being therefore parched and withered, Lucullus's lictors, when they perceived it, took fome of their own laurels which were fresh gathered, and bound them about his rods. This was thought fomewhat ominous, and looked as if Pompey came to take away the reward and honour of Lucullus's victories. Lucullus indeed had the fuperiority in respect of age and of his former consulship; but the dignity of Pompey was the greater on account of his triumphs. Their conversation began with great kindness and civility, and with mutual compliments and congratulations on the great actions they had performed and the victories they had obtained. But when they came to the chief fubject of their conference, they observed no decency nor moderation, but reproached each other in the feverest terms, Pompey upbraiding Lucullus with avarice, and Lucullus accusing Pompey of ambition; so that their friends could hardly part them. Lucullus had made a distribution of conquered lands in Galatia, and had given other largeffes to whom he pleafed. But Pompey encamping not far distant from him, publicly forbade any man to pay obedience to Lucullus;

cullus; he likewife inveigled away all his foldiers, except only fixteen hundred who were likely to be as unferviceable to him, as they were ill affected to Lucullus, being very infolent and mutinous. Pompey besides openly censured his conduct, and detracted from the glory of his actions, declaring that the battles of Lucullus were but imaginary, fuch as are represented in pictures, or upon the stage with personated kings; whereas the difficult part was referved for him, to contend with real strength and a well-disciplined army, as Mithridates began now to be in earnest, and had betaken himself to his fhields, fwords, and horses. Lucullus in return said, that Pompey came to fight with the image and shadow of war, and that as a dastardly bird of prey attacks only bodies already flain, so he, according to his usual custom, was come to crush the feeble relics of an expiring war; for thus be attributed to himself the conquests over Sertorius, Lepidus, and Spartacus; one of which was the work of Crassus, another of Catulus, and the other of Metellus: and therefore it was no great wonder, that the glory of the Pontic and Armenian war should be usurped by a man, who by his subtile artifices could obtain for himfelf the honour of a triumph for dispersing some fugitive llaves.

After this Lucullus departed for Rome; and Pompey having placed his whole navy as a guard upon all the feas betwixt the province of Phænicia and the Bosphorus, marched against Mithridates, who though he had still an army left of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, yet durst not risk a battle, but lay securely encamped upon a strong mountain, which however he forsook upon Pompey's approach, as a place destitute of water. Pompey as soon as he arrived took possession of it; and from the nature of the plants that grew there, and from many gaps or chinks which he saw in the earth, conjecturing that such a place could not be without springs,

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he ordered his men to fink wells in different parts, whereby there was great plenty of water throughout all the camp in a little time; fo that he wondered how it was possible for Mithridates to be ignorant of this, during all the time of his encampment there. After this Pompey purfued him to his next camp, where he shut him up by making a fortification about it. But he having endured a fiege of forty-five days, made his escape privately, and fled away with his best troops, having first killed all the fick and unserviceable perfons in his camp. Pompey followed him close, and overtook him near the banks of the Euphrates, where he encamped very near him; but fearing left he should pass over the river and escape again, he drew up his army against him at midnight. It is faid that at that very time Mithridates had a dream which prognofficated the misfortunes that were to befal him; for he feemed to be failing in the Pontic fea with a prosperous gale, and just in view of the Bosphorus, and discoursing agreeably with his companions, as one overjoyed at finding himself in perfect security; but on a sudden he seemed to be deferted by all, and to be floating upon a little broken plank of the ship. Whilst he was in this imaginary distress, some of his friends came to his tent, and awaked him with the news of Pompey's approach. They were now obliged to fight for the camp itself; the officers therefore led out the men, and drew them up in order of battle. Pompey perceiving how well they were prepared for defence, was unwilling to hazard an engagement in the dark, judging it more prudent to encompass them only at prefent, left they should escape, and to give them battle the next day, as his men were far the better foldiers. But the oldest of his commanders were of another opinion, and by entreaties and remonstrances prevailed upon him to begin the engagement immediately. Neither was

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the night totally dark; for the moon gave light enough to distinguish objects. But this rather deluded and misled the king's army; for as the Romans had the moon behind them, and she was very low, and just upon setting, the shadows projected a long way before their bodies, and reached almost to the enemy, who not exactly difcerning the distance, but imagining them to be near at hand, threw their darts at the shadows without the least execution upon any one of the Romans. They perceiving this, ran in upon them with a great shout; but the Barbarians being confounded and unable to fland the charge, were put to flight with a great flaughter, fo that above ten thousand were flain upon the spot, and the camp itself was taken. As for Mithridates, he at the beginning of the onfet with a body of eight hundred horse forced through all the Roman army, and made his escape; but this party foon forfook him, and dispersed, so that he was left with no more than three persons in his re tinue, among whom was his concubine Hypficratia, a woman who always showed a manly and daring spirit, for which reason the king called her Hypsicrates. She being attired and mounted like a Perfian horseman, accompanied the king in all his flight, never being weary even in the longest journey, nor ever failing to attend him in person, and even to take care of his horse, till they came to a castle called Inora *, where the king had lodged his money, and other things of the greatest value. Here Mithridates distributed the richest of his apparel among those who resorted to him in their

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Between the great and lesser Armenia. Strabo, lib. xii. says, that Mithridates was so careful to secure those parts, that he caused seventy-five castles or fortresses to be built thereabouts, wherein he deposited all his treasures; and he gives us the names of the chief of them, Hydara, Basgadariza, and Sinoria, which he places on the frontiers of the greater Armenia. It is not therefore without good reason that Lubinus thinks that instead of Inora; it cught to be read Sizovia.

flight; and to every one of his friends he gave a deadly poison, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy against their will. From thence he pursued his journey in order to take refuge with Tigranes in Armenia; but that prince was so far from receiving him, that he issued a proclamation against him, offering a reward of an hundred talents to any one that should kill him. Whereupon he passed the head of the Euphrates, and directed his slight through the country of Colchis.

In the mean, time Pompey advanced into Armenia, upon the invitation of young Tigranes, who had revolted from his father, and was come as far as the Araxes to meet Pompey. This river rifes near the head of the Euphrates, but bending its course towards the east, falls into the Caspian sea. Pompey and Tigranes being joined, marched on together, receiving the homage of all the cities through which they passed. But Tigranes the father having been lately defeated by Lucullus, and hearing that Pompey was of a kind and humane disposition, received a Roman garrison into his capital, and taking along with him feveral of his friends and relations, went in person to surrender himself to Pompey. He came as far as the trenches on horseback; but there he was met by two of Pompey's lictors, who commanded him to alight and walk on foot, as no man ever was feen on horseback within a Roman camp. Tigranes submitted to this immediately, and at the fame time taking off his fword, delivered it up; and last of all, as foon as he appeared before Pompey, he pulled off his royal diadem, and attempted to lay it at his feet; nay, he would meanly have fallen proftrate at his knees, had not Pompey himself prevented it, by taking and placing him at his right hand, and his fon at his left. Pompey then told him, That as to his losses, they were chargeable upon Lucullus, for that

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by him he had been dispossessed of Syria, Phoenicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophene; but all that he had preserved till that time he should peaceably enjoy, paying the sum of fix thousands talents as a fine for the injuries done by him. to the Romans, and that his fon should enjoy the kingdom. of Sophene. Tigranes himself was well pleased with these conditions; and therefore when the Romans faluted him king, he feemed to be overjoyed, and promifed to every common foldier half a mina of filver, to every centurion ten minæ, and to every tribune a talent. But the fon was highly displeased; and when he was invited to supper, he replied, That he did not want that fort of honour from Pompey, and that he should find some other Roman to be his friend. Pompey upon this immediately imprisoned him, and referved him for his triumph.

Not long after this, Phraates king of Parthia sent to Pompey, and demanded that the young Tigranes, who was his son-in-law, should be released to him, and that the river Euphrates should be the bound of his conquests. Pompey replied, That as to Tigranes, he belonged more to his own father, than to his father in-law; and as for his conquests, he would give them such bounds as were agreeable to reason and

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Pompey leaving Armenia under the care of A-franius, went himself in pursuit of Mithridates; whereby he was forced to march through several nations inhabiting about Mount Caucasus. Of these the Albanians and Iberians were the chief. The Iberians extend as far as the Moschian mountains, and the kingdom of Pontus; the Albanians lie more to the east, towards the Caspian sea. The Albanians at first permitted Pompey upon his entreaty to pass through the country; but when they found that the winter had surprised the Roman army whilst they were in their country, and that they were busy in celebrating the session of Saturn, they collected an army of no less than forty thousand

men, with a resolution to attack them. For this purpose they passed the river Cyrnus *, which rifing among the mountains of Iberia, and receiving the river Araxes in its course from Armenia, discharges itself by twelve different mouths into the Caspian sea; although others are of opinion, that the Araxes does not fall into it +, but that they feparately, though near each other, discharge themfelves into the fame fea. It was in the power of Pompey to have obstructed their passage over the river; but he permitted it without opposition, and as foon as they were got over, he attacked and routed them, and flew a great number of them on the fpot. Upon this their king fent ambaffadors with his fubmission. Pompey pardoned the offence, and having entered into a league with him, marched against the Iberians, a nation no less in number than the other, but much more warlike, and who were firmly refoved to affift Mithridates, and to oppose Pompey to the utmost. The Iberians were not subject to the Medes or Persians; and they happened likewife to escape the dominion of the Macedonians, because Alexander was obliged to quicken his march through Hyrcania; but Pompey subdued them in a decifive battle, in which nine thousand were flain, and more than ten thousand taken prison-From thence he went into the country of Colchis, where Servilius met him at the mouth of the river Phasis, with the fleet under his command, with which he guarded the coast of Pontus.

This pursuit of Mithridates was attended with great difficulties, he having concealed himself among the nations that inhabit about the Bosphorus and the lake Mæotis. Besides, news was brought

* The river which Plutarch calls Cyrnus, is named Cyrus by Strabo and Pliny, whose authority ought to be followed.

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[†] This is Strabo's opinion, who describes the different mouths of those two rivers; and in this he is followed by our modern geographers.

to Pompey that the Albanians had revolted: this fo enraged him that he refolved to turn his forces against them, and passed back again over the Cyrnus with great difficulty and danger, the Barbarians having fortified it with palifades a great way down the banks. After this, having a tedious marchto make through a dry and rugged country, he ordered ten thousand casks to be filled with water, and fo advanced towards the enemy. He found them drawn up in order of battle near the river Abas *, to the number of fixty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, but ill armed, and many of them covered only with the skins of wild beasts +. Their general was Cosis the king's brother, who, as foon as the battle was begun, fingled out Pompey, and rushing in upon him, struck his javelin into the joints of his breastplate; but Pompey in return pierced him through the body with his lance, and flew him. It is reported, that in this fight there were feveral Amazons who ferved as auxiliaries to these Barbarians, and that they came down from those mountains that run along by the river Thermodon; for after the battle, when the Romans were taking the plunder of the field, they met with feveral targets and buskins of the Amazons, but there was not the body of a woman to be feen among all the dead. They inhabit those parts of Mount Caucasus that look towards the Hyrcanian sea, not bordering upon the Albanians, for the territories of the Gelæ and the Leges lie be-

* This river runs down from the mountains of Albania, and falls into the Caspian sea. It is called Albanus by Ptolemy, and is so dis-

tinguished in our maps.

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[†] Strabo speaking of these people of Albania, says that they could raile more forces than the Iberians; for they could fend into the field no less than fixty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse; but at the lame time he tells us that those troops were ill-disciplined. They made use of darts and arrows, and were armed with cuirasses, bucklers, and helmets, made of the skips of wild beafts.

twixt *; and with these people they yearly cohabit for two months, near the river Thermodon; after which they return home, and live alone all the rest

of the year.

After this engagement Pompey was determined to have marched by the fide of the Caspian sea into Hyrcania, but was forced to retreat after three days march, by reason of the venomous serpents that were very numerous in those countries; and therefore he retired into the lesser Armenia. Whilst he remained there, he gave audience to some ambassadors from the kings of the Medes, and Elymæans †, and dismissed them with letters of friendship and respect to their masters; but for the king of Parthia, who made incursions upon Gordyene, and plundered and harassed the subjects of Tigranes, he sent an army against him under the command of Afranius, who put him to the rout, and pursued him as far as Arbelitis.

Among all the concubines of King Mithridates that were brought before Pompey, he had no commerce with any, but fent them all to their parents and relations; for most of them were either the daughters or wives of Mithridates's generals, or of the principal officers in his court. But Stratonice, who of all the rest had the greatest power and influence over him, and to whom he had committed the custody of that

* Plutarch has taken this from Theophanes of Mitylene, who attended Pompey in this expedition, and drew up a relation of it. In this relation he says that the Amazons were separated from the Albanians by the Gelæ, and the Leges, nations of Scythia. Strab. lib. xi.

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[†] The Elymæans inhabited a prevince in Assyria bordering upon the Medes. Strabo makes mention of three provinces belonging to the Elymæans, Gabiana, Massabitica, and Corbiana. He says the low country produced only husbandmen, but that the highlands abounded in brave soldiers, for the most part archers, and so numerous that the king presuming upon his strength resuled to submit to the king of Parthia, and scorned to sollow the example of his neighbours. Strab. lib. xxi.

fortress where he had lodged the best part of his treasure, was, they say, the daughter of a certain mufician, a man in years, and in low circumstances. As she happened one night to sing at a banquet in Mithridates's presence, he was so smitten on a sudden with her, that he immediately took her to his bed, to the great mortification of the father, who had loft his daughter without fo much as a kind word from his prince in return. But when he rose in the morning, and faw tables covered with veffels of gold and filver, a great retinue of fervants, eunuchs, and pages attending him with rich garments. and a horse * standing before the door magnificently caparifoned, as if he were one of the king's favourites, thinking himfelf mocked and abused, he attempted to run out of doors; but the fervants laying hold of him, informed him that the king had bestowed on him the house and furniture of a rich nobleman lately deceased, and that these were but the first fruits and earnest of greater riches and When with much possessions that were to come. difficulty they had perfuaded him to believe this. he put on a purple robe, and mounting his horfe, rode through the city, crying out, All this is mine! and to those that laughed at him, he faid, There was nothing strange in this, and they should rather wonder that he did not throw stones at all he met through the excess of his joy. Such was Stratonice's father.

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And fuch th' illustrious stock from which he sprang.

When she delivered up her castle into the hands of Pompey, and offered him many presents of great value, he received only such as he thought might serve to adorn the temples of the gods, and add to

^{*} It was a custom with those oriental princes to present their friends, and such as they had a mind to honour, with a horse out of their own stable in royal furniture. Thus Ahasuerus honoured Mordecai, Esh, vi. 8, &c.

the splendour of his triumph; the rest he left to Stratonice, bidding her please herself in the enjoyment of them. In the same manner, when the king of Iberia presented him with a bedstead, table, and a chair of state, all of gold, he delivered them to the quæstors for the use of the commonwealth.

In another castle called Canon, Pompey seized upon feveral fecret writings of, Mithridates, which he perused with no small pleasure, as they discovered very clearly the king's disposition. For there were memoirs whereby it appeared, that, befide many others *, he had destroyed his own fon Ariarathes by poison, as also Alcaus the Sardian, because he had got the better of him in an horse-race. There were likewise several interpretations ofdreams that he or fome of his concubines had had. Befide these, there were some amorous letters which had paffed between him and his miftress Monima. Theophanes tells us, that there was found likewise an oration of Rutilius, wherein he attempted to exasperate him against the Romans, and to perfuade him to put to death all of them that were in Asia; though most men justly suppose this to be a malicious invention of Theophanes, who hated Rutilius, a man in nothing like himself +; or perhaps he might fay it to gratify Pompey, whose father is described by Rutilius in his history as one of the vileft of men.

From thence Pompey came to the city of Amifus, where his ambition led him to commit the fame odious actions which he had before feverely condemned in another. For whereas he had re-

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^{*} It was the custom among princes to keep an exact register of whatever was transacted in the court. Of this we have instances in the book of Either.

[†] This is Publius Rutilius Rufus, who had been consul in the year of Rome 649. Cicero gives him a great character. Rutilius was a good historian, and wrote the history of the Romans in Greek, which was of great service to Appian. He was banished into Asia, and when Sylla recalled him, he would not return.

proached Lucullus, for having, while the war yet fubfifted, taken upon him to establish laws, and distribute rewards and honours, which conquerors use to do only when a war is brought to an end; yet now he himself, whilst Mithridates was still in possession of the kingdom of Bosphorus, and at the head of a powerful army, as if all were ended, did just the same thing, regulating the provinces, and distributing rewards. Many great commanders and princes having slocked to him, together with no less than twelve Barbarian kings, he, to gratify them, when he wrote to the king of Parthia, would not condescend (as others used to do) in the superfeription of his letter to give him his title of King of

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kings. He had a great defire to make himself master of Syria, and to march through Arabia to the Red fea, that he might extend his conquests every way to the great ocean that encompasses the whole earth. For in Africa he was the first Roman that advanced his victories to the ocean; in Spain he had enlarged the Roman empire, extending its bounds to the Atlantic fea; and in his late pursuit of the Albanians he wanted but little of reaching the Hyrcanian He therefore raifed his camp, defigning to bring the Red fea within the circuit of his expedition, especially when he saw how difficult it was to purfue Mithridates with an army, and that he proved more troublesome to the Romans when he fled from them, than when he stood, and encountered them. Therefore, upon his departure, he faid, he left to Mithridates a more formidable enemy than himself. meaning famine; for which purpose he appointed a guard of ships to lie in wait for the merchants that failed to the Bosphorus, having prohibited all upon pain of death to carry provisions or merchandifes thither.

Then he fet forward with the greatest part of his army; and in his march happening to find un-Vol. IV. P interred

interred feveral dead bodies of those who had been unfortunately flain under the conduct of Triarius in an engagement with Mithridates, he buried them with great splendour and magnificence, the neglect of which, it is thought, was a principal cause of the hatred which the army bore to Lucullus. Pompey having now by his forces under the command of Afranius subdued the Arabians that inhabit about Mount Amanus, himself invaded Syria; and finding it destitute of any natural and lawful prince, he reduced it into the form of a province, and brought it under the dominion of the Romans. He likewise conquered Judea *, and took King Aristobulus prifoner. Some cities he built anew, and others he fet at liberty, chaftifing those tyrants who had enflaved them. The greatest part of the time he spent there, was employed in the administration of justice, and in deciding the controversies of kings and states; and where he himself could not be present in person, he sent his friends with commission to act for him. Thus when there arose a difference betwixt the Armenians and Parthians concerning a country to which they both laid claim, and the judgment was referred to him, he commissioned three persons to be judges and arbitrators of the controversy. For though the fame of his power was great, yet his reputation for virtue and clemency was not less; and by this he procured great indulgence for the offences committed by his friends about him. For although it was not in his nature to check or chastise an offender, yet he behaved in

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^{*} Plutarch passes over this affair too slightly, without making the least mention of the temple of Jerusalem which was taken by force with the loss of more than twelve thousand Jews. Pompey entered into it, but had the moderation not to touch any of the holy utensils, or the treasure belonging to it. Plutarch might have taken notice of the golden vine presented to Pompey by Aristobulus, valued at five hundred talents. Strabo says he saw it in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome, where it was consecrated.

fuch a manner to those who addressed their complaints to him, that they always went away contented, and patiently submitted to the avarice and oppression of his officers. The person who had the greatest power and influence with him, was Demetrius his freedman, a youth of good understanding, but too infolent in his good fortune. The following story is related of him. Cato the philofopher, being as yet a young man, though in high reputation, and of great dignity of mind, took a journey to Antioch in Pompey's absence, to see that city. He, as his custom was, walked on foot, and his friends accompanied him on horseback. When he came near the city, he perceived a great croud about the gate, and one fide of the way lined with young men, and the other with boys, all in white. This fight displeased him much; for he thought it was a compliment paid to him, whereas he did not defire any fuch mark of respect. However he bid his companions alight and walk with him. As they drew near, the mafter of the ceremonies came out with a garland on his head, and a rod in his hand, and inquired, Where they had left Demetrius, and when he would come? Upon this Cato's companions burst into laughter; but Cato faid only, Alas poor city! and passed by without any other answer. But Pompey himself rendered Demetrius less odious to others by enduring his infolence towards himself. For it is reported, that frequently, when Pompey had invited his friends to an entertainment, and was waiting to receive them, Demetrius, in the mean time, would place himself at the table with his cap * info-

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^{*} The word inarior fignifies in this place, a cap, or bonnet, and not the flaps of a garment. It is well known that the cap was a token of enfranchisement; and such as had been newly made free, used ordinarily to wear a cap, though it was the general custom among the Romans to go bare-headed.

lently pulled over his ears. Before his return into Italy, he had purchased the pleasantest villas about Rome, with magnificent apartments for entertaining his friends, and sumptuous gardens, called from his name the gardens of Demetrius; though Pompey himself was contented with a mean and indifferent habitation till his third triumph. Afterwards, it is true, when he had erected that samous and stately theatre for the people of Rome, he built (as an appendix to it) an house for himself, more splendid than his former, but still too plain to expose him to envy; so that he who came to be master of that house after Pompey, could not but admire it, and asked, where Pompey the Great used to sup? Thus are

these things reported.

The king of Arabia Petræa, who had hitherto despised the power of the Romans, now began to think it very formidable, and therefore dispatched letters to Pompey, wherein he promifed to fubmit to him, and to do whatever he should command. However Pompey being defirous to confirm him in those fentiments, marched on towards Petra. This expedition did not entirely escape censure from the common foldiers, who charged him with undertaking it merely to decline the purfuit of Mithridates; whereas they thought themselves bound to turn their arms against him as their inveterate enemy, who was now reviving the war again, and making preparations (as it was reported) to lead his army through Scythia and Pannonia into Italy. Pompey, on the other fide, judging it easier to fubdue his forces in battle, than to feize his person in flight, resolved not to tire himself out in a vain pursuit, but rather to spend the main time in diverting the war upon another enemy. But fortune refolved the doubt; for whilst he was yet not far from Petra, and had pitched his tents, and encamp. ed for that day, as he was exercifing himself on horseback without the camp, some messengers came with

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with letters out of Pontus. It was eafily perceived even when they were at a distance that they brought good news, by the heads of their javelins which were crowned with branches of laurel. The foldiers, as foon as they faw them, flocked immediately to Pompey, who notwithflanding was defirous to make an end of his exercise; but when they began to be clamorous and importunate, he alighted from his horse, and taking the letters, went before them into the camp. There being no tribunal prepared, the foldiers were too impatient to raife one, fuch as they used to erect by cutting up thick turfs of earth, and piling them one upon another; but through eager. ness and haste they heaped up a pile of pack-saddles, and Pompey standing upon that, told them that Mithridates was dead, that he had laid violent hands upon himself, upon the revolt of his son Pharnaces, and that Pharnaces had taken every thing into his hands, which he did (as his letters mentioned) in right of himself and the Romans. Upon this news the whole army expreffed their joy, as we may well imagine, and frent their time in facrificing and feafting, as if in the person of Mithridates alone there had died many thousands of their enemies.

Pompey having thus brought this war to an end with much more ease than was expected, departed forthwith out of Arabia, and passing quickly through the intermediate provinces, came at length to the city of Amisus. There he received many magnificent prefents from Pharnaces, and feveral bodies of the late princes of the royal family, together with that of Mithridates himself *, which was not eafy to be known by the face, (for those that embalmed him had not dried up his brain;) but thole who were curious to fee him, knew him by the scars there. Pompey himself could not bear to see

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^{*} Pharnaces sent those bodies to Pompey for his further assurance, and to let him know that he had nothing to fear from the house of Mithricates.

him; but, to avert the wrath of the gods, he sent it away to the city of Sinope. He admired the richness of his robe no less than the fize and splendour of his armour. The scabbard of his sword, which cost four hundred talents, was stolen by Publius, and sold to Ariarathes; his diadem, which was of admirable workmanship, Caius the soster-brother of Mithridates gave privately to Faustus the son of Sylla at his earnest request. All this Pompey was ignorant of; but afterwards, when Pharnaces discovered it, he punished those who had embezzled them.

Pompey now having fettled all things in that province, marched homewards in greater pomp and state than ever. For when he came to Mitylene, he gave the citizens their freedom upon the intercession of Theophanes, and was present at the anniversary exercises or contentions of the poets who at that time had no other fubject than the actions of Pompey. Being exceedingly pleased with the theatre itfelf, he drew a model of it, intending to erect one in Rome in the same form, but larger and more magnificent. When he came to Rhodes, he heard the declamations of all the fophists, and gave to each of them a talent. Posidonius has written the disputation which he held before him against Hermagoras the rhetorician, in confutation of his opinion concerning invention in general. At Athens he behaved in the same manner; he also gave fifty talents towards the repairing and beautifying the city. He now expected to return into Italy with greater glory than any man had ever acquired before: he had likewise a passionate desire to be seen of his family, where he thought he was expected with equal impatience. But that god, whose province it is always to mix fome ingredient of evil even with the greatest and most splendid favours of fortune, had been long preparing to embitter his return to his family; for Mutia during his absence had dishonoured

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noured his bed *. Whilft he was at a distance, he gave little heed to the report; but when he drew nearer to Italy, and was more at leisure to consider of the accusation, being convinced of the truth of it, he sent her a bill of divorce; but neither then in writing, nor afterwards in discourse, did he ever give a reason why he discharged her; but the cause

is mentioned in Cicero's epiftles.

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There were various rumours fcattered abroad concerning Pompey, which were carried to Rome before him, and the people were in great agitation, thinking that he defigned to march with his army directly into the city, and establish himself in an absolute power. Crassus upon this, taking with him his children and his money, withdrew out of the city, either being really afraid, or (as is most probable) pretending to give credit to the calumny, that he might the more exasperate the people. Pompey therefore, as foon as he entered Italy, affembled his army, and having made an oration fuitable to the circumstances of affairs, and affured them of his regard and affection, he commanded them to depart to their feveral habitations, only remembering to meet again at his triumph. This difbanding of the army, the news of which was foon spread all over Italy, produced a very remarkable effect. For when the cities faw Pompey the Great unarmed, and with a small train of friends only, as if he was returning from an ordinary journey, they came pouring in upon him out of pure affection and respect, and conducted him to Rome with

^{*} She was fifter to Q. Metellus Celer, and Q. Metellus Nepos, and was debauched by Cæsar. For this reason when Pompey espoused the daughter of this paramour of his wife, he was reproached, "that after having had three children by her he turned her out of doors, and that to gratify his ambition he had condescended to marry the daughter of him, whom he used with a sigh to call his Ægysbus." Mutia's incontinence must have been very public, since Cicero in one of his letters to Atticus says, Divortium Mutia vehementer probatur, lib. 1. epist. 12.

far greater forces than those he had disbanded; so that if he had designed to make any innovation in the state, he might have done it without the affist-

ance of his army.

As the law permitted no man to enter into the city before his triumph, he fent to the fenate, entreating them to gratify him by proroguing the election of confuls, that he might have an opportunity of being present, and of countenancing Pifo, who was at that time one of the candidates. But this being opposed by Cato, he failed of his defign. However he could not but admire that freedom and boldness of speech in Cato, wherewith he alone above all others durst openly engage in the maintenance of law and juffice. He therefore had a great defire to purchase his friendship at any rate; and as Cato had two nieces, Pompey proposed to marry one himself, and to procure the other for his fon. But Cato fuspecting that the proposal was made with a defign of corrupting his integrity by this alliance, would not hearken to it; but his wife and fifter highly refented his refusal of an affinity with Pompey the Great. About that time Pompey having a defign to make Afranius conful, gave a fum of money among the tribes, and the distribution was made even in his own gardens; fo that when this affair came to be publicly known, Pompey was feverely censured for rendering that office venal which had been bestowed on him as the reward of his merit, and exposing it to be purchased with money by those who could not obtain it by their virtue. Upon this Cato faid to his wife and fifter; Now, had we contracted an alliance with Pompey, we should have shared in his dishonour too. Which when they heard, they could not but acknowledge that he was a better judge of what was decent and honourable.

The fplendour and magnificence of Pompey's triumph was fuch, that though it held for the space

of two days, yet that time was not fufficient, and the quantity of the preparations which were not ufed was great enough to have furnished out another triumph. In the first place, there were tables carried, wherein were written the names and titles of all the vanquished nations, such as Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Cholcis, Iberia, Albania, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phænicia, Palæstine, Judæa, Arabia; his victory over the pirates whom he totally fubdued by fea and land, was also recorded there. It appeared, that there had been taken no less than a thousand castles, nor much less than nine hundred cities, together with eight hundred ships of the pirates, and that thirty-nine towns which lay defolate had been repeopled. It was mentioned besides in these tables, that all the tributes throughout the Roman empire before these conquests amounted but to fifty millions of drachmas, whereas by his acquifitions they were advanced to eighty-five millions; and that he had brought into the public treasury in ready money, and in gold and filver veffels, to the value of twenty thoufand talents, befide that which had been distributed among the foldiers, of whom he that received leaft had an hundred and fifty drachmas for his share. The prisoners of war led in triumph, beside the captains of the pirates, were the fon of Tigranes king of Armenia, with his wife and daughter; Zofime, the wife of King Tigranes himself; Aristobulus, king of Judæa; the fifter of King Mithridates, and her five fons; and some women of Scythia. There were likewise the hostages of the Albanians and Iberians, and of the king of Comagena; befides as many trophies as were equal to the number of the battles which he had gained either himself in person, or by his lieutenants. But that which seemed to be his greatest glory, and to which no other Roman had ever attained, was this, that he made his third triumph over the third part of the world, Other

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Other Romans before him had received the honour of three triumphs; but Pompey's first triumph was over Africa, his second over Europe, and this his third over Asia; so that all three together seemed to declare him the conqueror of the whole world.

As for Pompey's age, those who affect to make the parallel exact in all things betwixt him and Alexander the Great, will not allow him to be quite thirty-four, whereas in truth at that time he was near forty *. How happy would it have been for him to have died, then while his fortune was like that of Alexander! but through all the remainder of his life his prosperity only rendered him odious, and his calamities were irretrievable. For that great power and authority which he had gained in the city by his extraordinary merit, was employed in an unjust manner in behalf of his friends; so that, by advancing their fortunes, he detracted from his own glory, till at last he was ruined by the force and greatness of his own power. And as the ftrongest places in a city, when once taken, instead of being any longer a defence, are an accession to the force of the enemy: fo Cæfar having rifen to power by Pompey's means, destroyed him by that very power which he himfelf had employed in fubduing others. And thus it happened.

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Lucullus, when he returned out of Asia, where he had been treated with great indignity by Pompey, met with an honourable reception from the senate; and when Pompey was present, in order to give a check to his power they paid still greater respect to Lucullus, and encouraged him to reassume his authority in the administration of the government; for he was now grown cold and inactive in business, having given himself up to indolence and

^{*} This number is erroneous; Pompey was at that time forty-five years old; for he was born in the year of Rome 647, and his third triumph was in the year 692.

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pleafure, and the enjoyment of a splendid fortune. However, being now roused to action, he strenuoully opposed Pompey, and procured those acts and decrees of his, which the other had repealed, to be re-established; and by the affistance of Cato. he obtained a greater interest in the senate than Pompey. Pompey being thus overpowered found himself obliged to fly to the tribunes of the people for refuge, and to court the favour of the young men. Clodius, who was the most daring and profligate of them all, rendered him the mere tool of the populace, exposing him in a manner very much beneath his dignity, and leading him continually up and down the forum, to countenance those laws which he proposed, and the speeches which he made to ingratiate himself with the people. And at last, as if he had not disgraced, but honoured him, he demanded of Pompey for his reward, that he should forfake Cicero, who was his friend, and who on many occasions had exerted himself in his This reward he obtained in the end: for when Cicero afterwards was under a profecution. and requested Pompey's affistance, he would not so much as admit him into his presence, but shutting his gates against those who came to intercede for him, went out at a back-door; therefore Cicero fearing the event of the trial departed privately from Rome.

About this time Cæsar returning from his province, contrived a scheme which brought him into great favour at present, and much increased his power afterwards; but it proved extremely destructive both to Pompey and the commonwealth. He now stood candidate for his first consulship; and observing the enmity betwixt Pompey and Crassus, and finding that by joining with one, he should make the other his enemy, he endeavoured by all means to reconcile them. The design in appearance was laudable and advantageous to the public,

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but in reality artfully and deeply contrived for the ruin of the state. For opposite parties or factions in a commonwealth, like ballast equally distributed in a ship, keep it upright and steady; whereas if they combine together, the weight which thus is all thrown to one side must for want of a counterbalance overset the whole. Therefore Cato told them who charged all the calamities of Rome upon the disagreement betwixt Pompey and Cæsar, that they were in a great errour; for it was not their late discord and enmity, but their former unanimity and friendship, that had given the first and deepest

wound to the commonwealth.

To this indeed Cæsar owed his consulship; which having obtained, he began immediately to ingratiate himself with the poorest and meanest of the commonalty, by proposing laws for the planting of colonies and for the distribution of lands; whereby he debased the dignity of his office, acting rather like a tribune of the people than a conful. When Bibulus his colleague opposed him, and Cato was prepared to fecond Bibulus, and affift him vigoroufly, Cæfar brought Pompey to the roftrum, and there directing his speech to him before the whole people, demanded his opinion of those laws. Pompey having expressed his approbation, Cæfar replied, If then any man should offer violence to these laws, wilt not thou be ready to affift the people? Yes, (replied Pompey), I shall always be ready, and against those that threaten with the fword, I will appear with fword and shield. Nothing was ever faid or done by Pompey to that very day, that feemed more infolent or odious than this; his friends therefore endeavoured to palliate the offence by faying it was an expression that dropt from him through inadvertency; but by his actions afterwards it appeared plainly that he was totally devoted to Cæsar; for in a few days Pompey, beyond all mens expectation, married Julia the daughter of Cæsar, who had been engaged before,

before, and was to be married to Capio: and to appeafe Cæpio's refentment, he gave him his own daughter in marriage, who had been espoused before to Faustus the son of Sylla: but Cæsar himself

married Calpurnia the daughter of Pifo.

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Upon this, Pompey filling the city with foldiers, carried all things by force as he pleafed; for as Bibulus the conful was going into the forum, accompanied by Lucullus and Cato, they fell upon his officers on a fudden, and broke the rods, and fomebody threw a pan of ordure upon the head of Bibulus himself; whilst two of the tribunes of the people, who accompanied him, were desperately wounded in the fray. By these means having cleared the forum of all their adversaries, the law for the division of lands was passed. And the populace being caught with this bait, became entirely obedient to them, and without any debate or hefitation passed unanimously whatever they propounded Thus they confirmed all those decrees of Pompey which were contested by Lucullus; to Cæfar they granted the provinces of Gallia Cifalpina and Tranfalpina, together with Illyricum, for five years, and likewise an army of four entire legions; and for the year ensuing, Piso the father-in-law of Cæfar, and Gabinius, one of the chief flatterers of Pompey, were elected confuls.

During all these transactions, Bibulus kept close within doors, nor did he appear publicly for the last eight months of his confulship *, but contented himself with sending out proclamations full of bitter invectives and accufations against them both. Cato, as if he had been divinely inspired, continually prophesied in the senate the calamities that would befal the commonwealth and Pompey. cullus totally retired from business, as one who by

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^{*} Upon this the wits of Rome, when they were to mention the events of that year, instead of saying Under the consulship of Casar and Bibulus, said, Under the consulship of Julius and Casar. reafon

reason of his age was no longer fit to engage in public affairs; upon which occasion Pompey said, That luxury was much more unseasonable for an old man than business. But notwithstanding this he himself not long after grew indolent and luxurious, wantoning in the embraces of his young wife, whom he never quitted, but spent almost all his time with her at his country-feats, and gardens of pleafure, neglecting the business of the commonwealth. that Clodius, who was then tribune of the people, began to despise him, and engage in many bold attempts against him. For when he had banished Cicero, and fent away Cato into Cyprus under a specious pretence of war, when Cæsar was gone upon his expedition into Gaul, and he found that the populace was devoted to him, as a man whose actions were all directed to please them, he attempted immediately to repeal feveral of Pompey's decrees. Accordingly he took Tigranes out of prison, and led him about with him as his companion: he likewise commenced prosecutions against Leveral of Pompey's friends, defigning by these measures to make an estimate of Pompey's power and interest. At last, when Pompey came one day into the forum to affift in a certain cause, Clodius *, accompanied with a croud of diffolute and desperate ruffians, and flanding up in an eminent place above the rest, asked these questions: Who is the licentious general? What man is that who feeks for a man? Who is it that scratches his head with one finger? His attendants, like a chorus on the stage, at the fignal of shaking his gown, answered each question, roaring out aloud Pompey. This indeed was no fmall-affliction to Pompey, a man unaccustomed to

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^{*} This happened under the consulship of Philippus and Marcellinus, in the year of Rome 697, as appears by Dion's account, lib. xxxix. that is, two years after what Plutarch is going to relate concerning Clodius's servant who was taken with a sword. He does not here keep exactly to the order of time.

reproach and infult, and altogether unexperienced in combats of this kind. But he was still more grieved, when he came to understand that the senate were pleased to see him treated with such contempt, and looked upon it as a just punishment for his treachery to Cicero. But when from words they came to blows in the forum, and feveral were wounded on both fides, and when one of Clodius's flaves was apprehended, creeping through the croud towards Pompey with a fword in his hand; Pompey laying hold of this pretence, and fearing befides Clodius's infolence and reproaches, never would go to any public affemblies, during all the time he was tribune, but kept close at home, and passed his time in consulting with his friends, by what means he might best allay the displeasure of the fenate and nobles against him. Culleo advised him to divorce Julia, and to exchange Cæfar's friendship for that of the senate; but this he would not hearken to. Others advised him to call home Cicero from banishment, a man who was always the great adversary of Clodius, and a great favourite of the fenate; to this he confented; and having brought Cicero's brother into the forum. attended with a strong party, to petition for his return, after a warm dispute, wherein several were wounded and fome flain, he overcame Clodius. Cicero being restored by a decree of the people, immediately reconciled the senate to Pompey; and withal, by effectually recommending the law for the importation of corn, did again, in a manner, make Pompey fovereign of all the Roman empire by fea and land. For by that law he had the command of all the ports and markets, the fale of provisions was directed by him, and in short, all concerns both of the merchants and husbandmen were under his jurisdiction. But Clodius faid, That the law was not made because of the scarcity of corn, but the scarcity of corn was made, that they might pass a law, whereby Q 2:

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whereby that power of his, which was now grown feeble and confumptive, might be revived again, and Pompey reinstated in a new empire. Others looked upon it as a contrivance of Spinther the conful, whose defign it was to occupy Pompey in a greater employment, that he himself might be sent to the affistance of King Ptolemy. However Canidius the tribune proposed a law to send Pompey without an army, and attended only with two lictors, as an arbitrator betwixt the king and his subjects of Alexandria. This law did not feem unacceptable to Pompey; but the senate rejected it, upon a pretence that they were unwilling to hazard his person. However, there were found feveral writings fcattered about the forum and fenate-house, intimating how grateful it would be to Ptolemy to have Pompey appointed for his general instead of Spinther. Timagenes adds, that Ptolemy left Egypt, and came to Rome, not out of necessity, but purely upon the perfuasion of Theophanes, who defigned to give Pompey an occasion of enriching himfelf, and of obtaining a new command. But though the villanous character of Theophanes might render this story probable, yet the noble disposition of Pompey is a much stronger argument against it; for he was incapable of fuch mean difingenuous artifices, even in favour of his ambition.

The whole care of providing corn being committed to Pompey, he fent abroad his factors and agents into all quarters, and he himfelf failing into Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa, collected great quantities. As he was just ready to embark in order to return home, there arose a great storm, so that his pilots were unwilling to set sail. But Pompey himself going first aboard, commanded the mariners to weigh anchor, crying out, It is necessary for me to go, but it is not necessary for me to live. This ardour and resolution was seconded by fortune, so that he made a prosperous voyage, and stored

all the markets in Rome with corn, and covered the sea with ships. Such was the quantity of provisions imported, that there was a sufficient supply, not only for the city of Rome, but for so reigners too; and plenty dispersed itself, like a copious fountain through many streams, into all parts.

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In the mean time Cæfar was growing great by his conquests in Gaul; and when he seemed to be furthest distant from Rome, and to be entirely occupied in the affairs of Belgia, Suevia, and Britain, then was he working craftily and fecretly in the midst of the people, and undermining Pompey in. his chief designs. For his principal design was not. to fubdue the Barbarians, but by his combats with. them to harden and invigorate his foldiers (as a body is strengthened by hunting and the like exercifes), that they might be formidable and invincible when employed against others. The gold and filver, and the rest of the treasures and spoils which. he had taken from fuch a vast number of enemies, he fent to Rome, in order to strengthen his interest there, distributing them in presents to the ædiles, prætors, and confuls, together with their wives, whereby he purchased a multitude of friends; so. that when he returned over the Alps, and took up his winter-quarters in the city of Luca, not only an infinite number of the common people both men and women eagerly flocked to him, but likewife two hundred fenators, among whom were Pompey and Craffus; and there were to be feen at once-before Cæsar's gates no less than a hundred and twenty fasces of proconfuls and prætors. As for the rest, he fent them all away with rich presents and great expectations; but he entered into an agreement with Craffus and Pompey, that they should stand candidates for the confulship next year; that he should send a great number of soldiers to give their votes at the election; that as Q3

foon as they were elected, they should use their interest to have the government of some provinces. and armies affigned to themselves, and that he should have his present command confirmed to him for five years more. But afterwards, when these defigns came to be discovered and publicly talked of, they gave great offence to the chief men of Rome; and therefore Marcellinus once in a full affembly of the people demanded of them both, Whether they designed to sue for the consulship or no? And being urged by the people for their answer, Pompey spoke first, and told them, Perhaps he would fue for it, perhaps he would not *. But Craffus answered more mildly, that he should do what appeared to him to be most advantageous to the commonwealth. Marcellinus then addressed himself again to Pompey and spoke with great feverity; upon which he replied, that Marcellinus was the most ungrateful of men, since by his means of a mute he was made an orator, and though starving before, was now glutted even to a vomit.

Though others now declined suing for the confulship, yet Cato persuaded and encouraged Lucius Domitius not to desist; For, said he, the contest now is not for obtaining the consulship, but for securing our liberty against tyrants and usurpers. Therefore Pompey's party fearing the inflexible constancy of Cato, lest, as he had such an ascendant in the senate, he should likewise pervert and draw after him all the sober part of the commonalty, resolved to prevent Domitius's entrance into the forum. For this purpose they sent in a band of armed men, who slew the torch-bearer of Domitius, as he was leading the way before him, and put all the rest of his company to slight; Cato retired last of all, having received a wound in his right arm in defence of Do-

mitius.

Dion makes him return an answer, which seems more agreeable to his character. "It is not," said he, "for the sake of the honest citizens that I desire any share in the magistracy; but it is on purpose to restrain the dishonest and seditious, that I now demand the consulfair."

mitius. Having by these practices seized upon the confulship, they used as little moderation in the exercise of their power, as they had shown in obtaining it. For in the first place, when the people were chusing Cato prætor, and just ready to give their votes, Pompey broke up the affembly, pretending that he faw an inauspicious flight of birds *; after which having corrupted the tribes, they declared Antias and Vatinius prætors. Then, in purfuance of their agreeement with Cæfar, a decree was proposed by Trebonius the tribune, and ratified by the people, for continuing Cæsar in his command for five years more; to Craffus, Syria and the Parthian war were affigned; and to Pompey himself all Africa, together with both the Spains, and four legions of foldiers, two of which he lent to Cæfar, upon his request, for the wars in Gaul.

Crassus upon the expiration of his consulship departed immediately into his province; but Pompey spent some time in Rome, upon the opening or dedication of his theatre, where he exhibited to the people entertainments of music, gymnastic exercises, and combats with wild beasts, wherein sive hundred lions were slain; but that spectacle which raised the greatest astonishment and terrour, was the combat with elephants which concluded the whole the

whole †.

These magnificent entertainments procured him

*Whenever the people were affembled in order to poll, if the conful, or some other magistrate, declared he observed some inauspicious birds in the heavens, the assembly broke up immediately. So that the magistrate never wanted a pretext to stop any thing from passing which was not agreeable to his interest, or humour. To prevent which abuse, Clodius had made a law, "That no magistrate should observe tokens in the heavens whilst the people were assembled,"

† Dion says that there were eighteen elephants that fought, and that some of them being wounded seemed to cry out for quarter, and to complain to the Romans of the injustice that had been done them. For as they were putting them on shipboard in Africa, they who had the care of them took an oath that they should not be injured; the Ro-

mans therefore being moved with compassion saved them.

great love and esteem from the people; but on ther other hand he caused as much discontent by committing the care of his provinces and legions to fuch of his lieutenants as were most in his favour, whilst he fpent his time in Italy, going about continually from one villa to another with his wife, either because he was extremely fond of her, or because he was unwilling to leave her on account of her fondness for him. It is certain, that Julia's love for her husband was very much celebrated; not that Pompey was then in the flower of his age; but her affection for him was owing to the affurance she had of his constancy, and to the charms of his converfation, which, notwithstanding his natural gravity, was agreeable and cheerful, and extremely engaging with the women, unless we will reject the testimony of Flora the courtezan. A tumult once happening in the public affembly at an election of ædiles, and feveral persons about Pompey being flain, he, finding himself covered with blood, changed his cloaths. The fervants who carried home, his cloaths ran thither in great hurry and confufion; and Julia (who was then with child) feeing his gown all stained with blood, immediately fainted away, and was with great difficulty recovered :. however, through the terrour and agitation of hermind, she fell in labour and miscarried. Wherefore even those who chiefly censured Pompey for his friendship to Cæsar, could not reprove him for his affection to his wife. Afterwards she was pregnant again, and was brought to-bed of a daughter. but died in childhed; neither did the infant outlive her mother many days. Pompey had prepared all things for the interment of her corpfe at his feat near Alba; but the people feized upon it by force, and buried it in the Campus Martius, more out of concern for her than regard either to Pompey or Cæfar; and yet of the two, they feemed to show more

more respect to Cæsar though absent, than to Pom-

pey though prefent.

As foon as the death of Julia had dissolved that alliance which hitherto had been a diguise rather than restraint to the ambition of these men, tumults began to rise in the city, and all the public transactions and speeches seemed to manifest a spirit of discord and sedition. Besides, not long after intelligence was brought from Parthia of the death of Crassus; whereby another great obstacle to a civil war was removed; for the fear of him preserved them both from coming to extremities against each other; but when fortune had taken away this champion, who, if either of them had soiled his antagonist, was able to cope with the victor, you might then say with the comedian,

Preparing for the strife each wrestler stands, His body rubs with oil, with dust his hands.

So inconfiderable a thing is fortune in respect of the human mind, and so insufficient to satisfy its bound-less desires, that an empire of that vast extent could not content the ambition of two men. Though they knew and had read, that when the empire of the universe was divided by lot among three gods *, each god sat down contented with his own share, yet they thought the whole Roman empire not sufficient for them, though they were but two.

Pompey, in an oration to the people, told them plainly, that he ever came into office before he expected he should, and that he always left it sooner than they expect-

* Plutarch alludes here to a passage in the fifteenth book of the Miad, where Neptune says to Iris,

Assign'd by lot our triple rule we know;
Infernal Pluto sways the shades below;
O'er the wide clouds, and o'er the starry plain,
Ethereal four extends his high domain.
My court beneath the hoary waves I keep,
And hush the roarings of the sacred deep.

Pope.

ed he would; and, indeed, the disbanding of his armies was a proof of this. Yet when he perceived that Cæsar would not so willingly discharge his forces, he then endeavoured to strengthen himself against him by offices and commands in the city; and this he did without attempting any other innovation; nor would he have it thought that he had any distrust or fear of Cæsar, but rather that he neglected and despised him. But when he perceived that the officers were not distributed as he would have them, the citizens having been corrupted by money, he thought it more expedient for his purpose to have the city left in a state of anarchy. Upon this it was generally faid, that there was a necessity for chusing a dictator. Lucilius the tribune first ventured to propose it in public, and exhorted the people to make choice of Pompey for that dignity; but being severely reprimanded by Cato for it, he had like to have been turned out of his office. This made many of Pompey's friends stand up in his behalf, and declare that he neither asked nor wished for the dictatorship. Upon this Cato highly applauded Pompey, and recommended it earnestly to him to take care that all things should be conducted in a regular and legal manner; and as he could not for shame refuse to comply with fuch a request, Domitius and Messala were elected confuls.

Afterwards, when the city fell again into the fame anarchy and confusion, and many persons talked of chusing a dictator even with greater boldness than before; Cato, fearing lest he should be forced to it at last, determined to divert Pompey from aiming at that absolute and uncontrollable power, by giving him an office of more legal authority: nay even Bibulus, who was Pompey's enemy, first proposed in the senate, that Pompey should be created consul alone; alleging, That, by this means, either the commonwealth would be freed from

from its present confusion, or that its bondage should be lessened by serving the worthiest. This was looked upon as a very strange motion, considering the man from whom it came; and therefore when Cato stood up, every body expected that he would have opposed it, and listened in profound filence; but he told them plainly, That for his own part he should never have been the author of that advice himself, but since it was propounded by another, his opinion was that it should be followed; adding, That any form of government was better than none at all; and that, in a time for full of diffraction, he thought no man fitter to govern than Pompey. This counsel was unanimously approved of, and a decree was passed, that Pompey should be made fole conful; and that if he thought it necessary to have a colleague, he might chuse whom he pleased, provided it were not till after two months were expired.

Thus was Pompey created and declared fole conful by Sulpitius, who was interrex during this vacancy. Upon this he addressed himself with great kindness and respect to Cato, thanking him for the honour he had done him, and desiring his affistance and advice in the administration of the government. To this Cato replied, That Pompey had no reason to thank him, since all that he had said, was in favour of the commonwealth, not of Pompey; that he would be always ready to give him his advice in private if he desired it, but that he would be sure to speak in public what he thought was for the interest of the commonwealth. Such was Cato throughout his whole con-

duct.

Pompey, upon his return into the city, married Cornelia the daughter of Metellus Scipio *. She was not a virgin, but the widow of Publius the son of Crassus, to whom she had been married when very young, and who died in the Parthian expedi-

^{*} This Scipio was the son of Scipio, surnamed Nasica, but being adopted into the family of the Metelli, he was called Metellus Scipio.

tion. She had many charms befide her youth and beauty; for she was well skilled in polite literature, in music and geometry, and read with profit the precepts of philosophy. But that which crowned all the rest, was the modesty and humility of her behaviour, free from that pride and petulance which is frequently found in young women who are possessed of such qualifications. Her father alfo was very confiderable, both on account of his family and his personal virtues. However, this unequal match was not pleasing to some people; for Cornelia's age was more fuitable to that of Pompey's fon than to his own. Beside this, the wifer fort thought the concerns of the city quite neglected, while he (to whom alone they had committed themselves, and from whom alone, as from their physician, they expected the cure of their present diforders) was crowned with garlands, and revelling in his nuptial feafts, not confidering that this confulship was a public calamity, and that it would never have been given him fo contrary to law, had his country been in a flourishing state. At first he took cognisance of those who obtained offices by gifts and bribery, and enacted laws for regulating their trials; and in every other part of his office he behaved with great dignity and integrity; fo that he restored security, order, and tranquillity to their courts of judicature, himself attending there with a band of foldiers. But when his father-in-law Scipio was accused, he fent for the three hundred and fixty judges to his house, and entreated them to be favourable to him; and his accuser seeing Scipio conducted out of the forum to his house by the judges themselves, defisted from the profecution. Pompey was very much cenfured on this account; and still more in the case of Plancus; for whereas he himself had made a law to forbid any man, in the course of his pleading, from launching out in praise of the accused, yet he came into court

when an accufation was brought against Plancus *. and spoke openly in commendation of him. Cato. (who happened to be one of the judges), stopping his ears with his hands, told him, He could not in bonour hear a commendation which was contrary to law. Upon this Cato was fet aside from being a judge, before fentence was given; notwithstanding which, Plancus was condemned by the unanimous vote of the rest of the judges, to Pompey's great confusion and dishonour. Shortly after, Hypseus, a man of confular dignity, when a profecution was commenced against him, waited for Pompey's return from his bath to fupper, and falling down at his feet, implored his favour; but he disdainfully passed by, faying, That his importunities ferved for nothing but to spoil his supper. This partiality in Pompey was highly condemned; however he managed all other things in a regular and unexceptionable manner. and chose his father-in-law to be his colleague in the confulship for the last five months. His provinces were continued to him for four years longer. with a commission to take a thousand talents yearly out of the treasury for the payment of his army.

This gave occasion to some of Cæsar's friends to demand that some consideration should be had of him too, who had done such signal services in war, and fought so many battles for the service of the commonwealth, alleging, that he deserved to obtain a second consulship, or to have his government in the province where he had fought, continued, that he might command alone and enjoy in peace what he had acquired by war, and that no successfor might reap the fruits of his labour, and raise his same upon the glory of Cæsar's actions. As this affair occasioned some debate, Pompey took upon

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^{*} This was T. Munatius Plancus Bursa, who was accused by Cicero, and condemned in spite of Pompey's protection, and the great commendations he gave him in court. Cicero was so pleased with his success in that cause, that he could not forbear testifying the joy it gave him, in a letter to Marius. Epist. 2. lib. 7.

him, as it were out of kindness to Cæsar, to allay the indignation which that demand had raifed in the people, and accordingly told them that he had received a letter from Cæfar, wherein he defired to have a fuccessor, and to be discharged from the war, but faid, that it was reasonable that he should have leave to stand for the confulship though in his absence *. But Cato opposed this, saying, That if he expected any favour from the citizens, he ought to leave his army, and come in a private capacity to fue for it. Pompey made no reply; and as he feemed so easily satisfied, he gave a greater suspicion of his real disposition towards Cæsar, especially when, under pretence of the Parthian war, he fent for his two legions which he had lent him; however, Cæfar, though he well knew for what defign he wanted them, fent them home very liberally rewarded.

Some time after this, Pompey recovered of a dangerous fit of fickness which seized him at Naples; and the whole city, upon the perfuasion of Praxagoras, offered facrifices to the gods for his recove-The neighbouring towns followed their example, and by degrees, all Italy did the fame; fo that there was not a city, either great or fmall, that did not feast and rejoice for many days together. And the number of those that came from all parts to meet him was fo great, that no place was able to contain them; but the villages, fea-port towns, and highways were all full of people feafting and facrificing to the gods. Many went to meet him with garlands on their heads, and tapers in their hands, casting flowers upon him as he went along; fo that his journey with fuch an attendance afford-

^{*} There was a law by which persons absent were forbid to put up for the consulship. But Pompey added this clause to it, except such as were allowed by name; by which the law was rendered entirely infignificant. For they who had the power in their hands, and were at the head of armies, would never sail of gaining such a permission.

ed a most magnificent spectacle. It is thought however, that this very thing was not one of the least causes of the civil war; for the extravagant rejoicings of the people on this occasion so inflamed the pride and vanity which Pompey's former fucceffes had kindled in him, that throwing afide that caution which had hitherto given fuch fafety and stability to his good fortune, he gave way to a prefumptuous confidence, and entertained a contempt of Cæfar, as though he could overcome him without arms, and without any laborious effort, and pull him down much more easily than he had raised him. Befides, Appius, who was just returned from Gaul with the legions Pompey had lent to Cæfar, very. much disparaged his actions there, and raised many fcandalous reports of Cæfar, telling Pompey, That he was unacquainted with his own strength and reputation, if he made use of any other forces against Casar than the very legions he should bring with him; for such was the foldiers hatred to Cæfar, and love to Pompey, that they would all come over to him upon his first appearance. By these flatteries, Pompey was strangely elated; and his confidence rendered him so negligent, that he laughed at those who seemed to fear a war. And when some were faying, that if Cæsar should turn his forces against the city, they could not see what power was able to refift him; he fmiled, and, with great unconcern, bid them take no care of that; for, said he, whenever I stamp upon the ground in any part of Italy, there will rife up forces enough in an instant both horse and foot.

Cæsar on the other side was more vigorous in his proceedings. He was now not far distant from Italy, and was continually sending some of his soldiers into the city to attend at all elections; beside this, he corrupted several of the magistrates with money, and brought them over to his party. Among these Paulus the consulwas gained by a bribe of sisteen hundred talents, and Curio, a tribune of

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the people, by a discharge of all his debts, which were immensely great, and Mark Anthony, who out of friendship to Curio was bound with him for the payment. It is faid, that a centurion of Cæfar's waiting at the fenate-house, and hearing that the fenate refused to give him a longer term to continue in his government, clapped his hand upon his fword, and faid, But this shall give it. And indeed all his practices and preparations were in order to this end: though Curio's demands and requests in favour of Cæfar feemed much more moderate and plaufible; for he only defired one of these two things, either that Pompey should disband his army, or that Cæfar should be allowed to keep his on foot. For, faid he, if both of them are unarmed, and reduced to a private state, they will come to an agreement on reasonable terms; or if they are both in equal au thority, they will be a balance to each other, and fit down contented with their lot: but he that weakens one, does at the same time strengthen the other, and so doubles that power which he stood in fear of before. Marcellus the conful only replied to this, that Cæfar was a robber, and should be proclaimed an enemy to the state if he did not disband his army. However Curio with the affistance of Anthony and Pifo obtained, that the matter in debate should be decided by the votes of the fenate. Accordingly those being ordered to withdraw who were of opinion, That Cafar only should lay down his army and Pompey command, the majority withdrew. But when it was ordered again for those to withdraw whose vote was, That both should lay down their arms, and neither command, there were but twenty-two for Pompey, all the rest remaining on Curio's fide *. Whereupon he, transported with

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^{*} We are affured of the contrary by Dion, who tells us that there was not one who was for Pompey's laying down his arms, and that there were but two persons who voted for Cæsar; one of these was called Marcus Cæcilius, and the other was Curio, he who brought the letters from Cæsar.

joy, and proud of his conquest, ran out among the people, who received him with great applause, clapping their hands, and crowning him with gar-Pompey was not then prefent lands and flowers. in the senate, it being unlawful for the general of an army to come into the city: but Marcellus rifing up, faid, That he would not fit there hearing speeches, when he saw that ten legions had already passed the Alps in their march toward the city, but that he would fend a man of equal authority against them in defence of their country. Upon this the city went into mourning as in a public calamity, and Marcellus (accom-panied by the fenate) went through the city towards Pompey, and when he came up to him, fpoke thus: Pompey, I command thee to appear in defence of thy country with those forces thou hast at present in readiness, and to raise more with all speed. Lentulus, one of the confuls elect for the year following, spoke to the fame purpose. But Anthony, much against the will of the fenate, in a public affembly read a letter of Cæfar's, containing some proposals which were extremely well adapted to gain the favour of the multitude; for he defired, that both Pompey and he quitting their governments, and difmiffing their armies, should submit to the judgment of the people, and give an account of their actions before them; fo that when Pompey began to make his levies, and muster up his new-raised soldiers, he found himself disappointed in his expectations: some few indeed came in, but those very unwillingly; others would not answer to their names, and the generality cried out for peace. Lentulus, notwithstanding he was now entered upon his confulship, would not affemble the senate; for Cicero, who was lately returned from-Cilicia, laboured to bring about a reconciliation, proposing, that Cæsar should leave his province of Gaul and disband his army, referving two legions only, together with the government of Illyricum, and be nominated for a second confulfhip; R 3

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fulship. As Pompey disliked this motion, Cæsar's friends were contented that he should retain one legion only; but Lentulus opposed this, and Cato cried out, That Pompey was much to blame for being thus imposed upon; so that the reconciliation did not take effect.

In the mean time news was brought that Cæfar had taken Ariminum, a great city in Italy, and was marching directly towards Rome with all his forces: but this latter circumstance was false, for he had no more with him at that time than three hundred horse and five thousand foot, and would not wait for the body of his army, which lay beyond the Alps, chufing rather to furprise his enemies while they were in confusion and did not expect. him, than by waiting for the rest of his army to give them time to make preparations for war. For when he was arrived at the banks of the Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province, he there made a halt, and for some time stood filent, pondering in his mind the greatness of this daring enterprise. At length (like men who shutting their eyes cast themselves headlong from a precipice into fome vast yawning gulf), throwning a veil over every thought of danger, he cried out aloud in the Greek language to those about him, Let the die be thrown, and immediately passed the river with his army. No fooner was the news arrived, but there was a tumult and confernation in the city, fuch as never was known in Rome before. All the fenate and the magistrates ran immediately to Pompey; and when Tullus * asked him what forces he had in readiness for their defence, he seemed to pause a little, and answered with some hesitation, That he had those two legions ready that Casar sent back, and for his new-raised forces, he believed they would shortly make up a body of thirty thousand men; but Tullus replied with a loud voice, O Pompey, thou hast deceived

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^{*} Lucius Volcatius Tullus.

as! and immediately gave his advice to dispatch ambaffadors to Czefar. Favonius (who was not otherwise a bad man, but affecting to imitate Cato's freedom of speech, indulged himself in a petulant and abusive manner of talking) bid Pompey stamp. upon the ground, and call forth the forces he had promised. But Pompey very patiently bore this unseafonable raillery; and when Cato put him in mind of what he had foretold from the beginning concerning Cæfar, he made this answer only, That Cato indeed had spoke more like a prophet, but he had acted more like a friend. Cato then advised them to chuse Pompey general with absolute power, saying, That those who were the authors of great evils, know best how to cure them. He therefore went immediately into Sicily, the province that was allotted him; and all the rest of the senators likewise departed every one to his respective government.

Thus almost all Italy being in arms, it seemed very doubtful what was best to be done: for they that were without, came from all parts flocking into the city; and the inhabitants of the city feeing the confusion and disorder so great there, went out and forfook it as fast: they that were willing to obey were found too weak, and the disobedient were too strong to be governed by the magistrates. For it was impossible to allay the fears of the people; nor would they fuffer Pompey to follow his own judgment, every man preffing him to act according to his particular fancy, whether it proceeded from doubt, fear, or grief; fo that even in the fame day he took contrary resolutions. it was altogether as impossible to have any good intelligence of the enemy; for what one man reported was contradicted by another, and they both were offended with Pompey if he did not believe

them

Pompey at length having proclaimed by an edict that the state was in danger, commanded all the senate behind should be judged a confederate of Cæsar; and about the dusk of the evening he left the city. The consuls also followed after in a hurry, without offering any facrifice to the gods, as was usual before a war. In the midst of all these calamities, Pompey could not but think himself extremely fortunate in the universal love and good-will of the people; for though many condemned the war, yet no man hated the general; so that there were more to be found of those who went out of Rome because they could not forsake Pompey, than of those who left it for the sake of liberty.

A few days after this Cæsar arrived at Rome, and made himself master of it, treating all that were left behind with great humanity, which served to allay their sears and apprehensions. But when Metellus, one of the tribunes, opposed his taking any of the money out of the public treasury, Cæsar threatened to kill him, adding an expression still more terrible than his threats, That it was easier for him to do it than say it. By this means removing Metellus, and supplying himself with as much money as he wanted, he set forwards in pursuit of Pompey, endeavouring with all speed to drive himsout of Italy, before his army that was in Spain, could join with him.

But Pompey arriving at Brundusium, and having provided a fleet of ships there, ordered the two consuls to embark immediately, together with thirty cohorts, and sent them before him to Dyrrachium. He sent likewise his father-in-law Scipio, and Cnæus his son-into Syria, to provide a fleet there. In the mean time * having barred up the gates of the city, he placed his lightest-armed soldiers as guards upon the walls; and giving express orders that

^{*} Plutarch takes no notice of what passed during the siege of Brundusium, which held out nine days, and yet it deserved to be mentioned as it is by Cæsar in the first book of the civil wars.

the citizens should keep within doors, he dug trenches (in which he fixed a great number of sharp stakes) throughout all the streets of the city, except only those two which lead down to the haven.

Having in three days time put all the rest of his army on board without any interruption, he suddenly gave the signal to those who guarded the walls, who nimbly repairing to the ships, immediately embarked and set sail. Cæsar, when he perceived the walls unguarded, imagining that the enemy was sled, made haste after them, and in the heat of the pursuit had like to have fallen upon the stakes in the trenches; but the Brundusians discovering the danger to him, and showing him the way, he fetched a compass round the city, and made towards the haven, where he found all the sleet under sail, excepting only two vessels that had but a few soldiers aboard.

Some are of opinion, that this departure of Pompey is to be reckoned among the best of his stratagems; but Cæsar himself could not but wonder that he who was in possession of a strong city, who expected his forces from Spain, and was mafter of the sea besides, should abandon Italy. Cicero likewise blamed him, for imitating the conduct of Themistocles, rather than that of Pericles *, whereas the state of his affairs more refembled the circumstances of the latter, than those of the former. However Cæfar showed plainly by his actions, that he greatly feared what length of time might produce; for when he had taken prisoner Numerius + a friend of Pompey, he fent him to Brundusium, with offers of peace and reconciliation upon equal terms; but Numerius failed away with Pompey. And now Cæfar having made himfelf mafter of all. Italy in fixty days, without bloodshed, was defirous.

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^{*} Ep. ad. Att. 1. vii. ep. xi.

to pursue Pompey immediately; but being destitute of shipping, he was forced to divert his course, and march into Spain, designing to join the forces

Pompey had there to his own.

In the mean time Pompey had raised a great army both by fea and land. As for his navy, it was altogether invincible, for there were five hundred ships of war, besides an infinite number of fmall light veffels. As for his land-forces, the cavalry confifted of feven thousand horse *, the flower of Rome and Italy, being all men of confiderable family and fortune, and of great courage; but the infantry was a mixture of raw and unexperienced foldiers, and therefore he exercised them daily while he remained at Beræa, where he himfelf was not idle, but performed all his exercifes as if he had been in the flower of his youth. This raifed the spirits of his foldiers extremely; for it was no fmall encouragement to them to fee Pompey the Great, at the age of fifty-eight years, fometimes exercifing in his armour on foot, and fometimes when mounted on horfeback drawing out his fword with ease in full career, and sheathing it again as eafily; and in darting the javelin, he showed not only his skill and dexterity in hitting the mark, but his strength and activity in throwing it so far, that few of the youngest went beyond him.

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Several kings and princes of other nations came thither to him; but the Roman magistrates were so numerous, that they made up a complete senate. Labienus forsook his old benefactor Cæsar, (whom he had served throughout all his wars in

^{*} But Cæsar says that this choice body of horse was almost entirely composed of strangers. "There were," says he, "six hundred Galatians, sive hundred Cappadocians, as many Thracians, two hundred Macedonians, sive hundred Gauls, or Germans, eight hundred men raised out of his own estates, or out of his retinue," and so of the rest, whom he particularly mentions, and tells us to what countries they belonged.

Gaul), and came over to Pompey *; and Brutus the fon of that Brutus who was put to death in Galatia, a man of great spirit, and who to that day had never fo much as faluted or fpoke to Pompey, (looking upon him as the murderer of his father), came then and submitted himself to him as the defender of their liberty. Cicero likewise, though he had wrote and advised otherwise, yet was ashamed not to be accounted in the number of those who were ready to hazard their lives for the fafety of their country. And last of all there came to him in Macedonia, Tidius Sextius, a man extremely old, and lame of one leg; others indeed laughed at the spectacl; but Pompey, as soon as he saw him, rose and ran to meet him, esteeming it no small testimony of the goodness of his cause, that men of fuch age and infirmities should rather chuse to be with him in danger, than in fafety at home. Afterwards, the senate being affembled, it was decreed upon Cato's motion, That no Roman citizen should be put to death but in battle, and that they should not fack or plunder any city that was subject to the Roman empire. By this Pompey's party grew into still greater reputation; so that they who were not at all concerned in the war, either because they dwelt afar off, or were incapable by reason of their infirmities, were yet in their opinions of his fide, and did in all their difourfes fight for him, efteeming his cause to be just, and looking upon those as enemies both to gods and men, who wished not victory to Pompey.

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^{*} It seemed very strange, says Dion, that Labienus could quit the interest of Cæsar, who had loaden him with honours, and made him commander in chief of all the forces on the other side of the Alps, whilst he was at Rome. But he gives this reason for it. "Labienus, pampered with wealth and preferments, forgot himself so far, as to assume a carriage very unbecoming a person in his circumstances; so that when Cæsar perceived he was for putting himself upon an equal foot with him, he grew cool towards him, and treated him with some reserve, which Labienus resenting, went over to Pompey."

Cæfar however showed no less moderation and humanity in his fuccess; for when he had defeated Pompey's forces in Spain, he left the commanders at their liberty, and took the common foldiers into his own pay. Then repaffing the Alps, and marching through Italy, he came to Brundusium about the winter-folftice, and croffing the fea there, landed near Oricum, from whence he dispatched Vibullius Rufus, an intimate friend of Pompey, whom he had taken in Spain, and brought from thence with him. He had orders to repair to Pompey, and propose a conference, wherein they should both agree to disband their armies in three days, to renew their former friendship with folemn oaths, and return together into Italy. Pompey again looked upon this as some new stratagem *; and therefore marching down in all hafte towards the sea-coast, he possessed himself of all the forts and places of strength fit to encamp in, and secure his land-forces, as likewife of all the ports and commodious stations for ships; so that whatever wind blew, it was necessarily favourable to him, bringing in either provision, men, or money. But Cæfar on the contrary was fo diffressed both by sea and land, that he was forced to defire a battle, daily provoking the enemy, and affailing them in their very forts. In these light skirmishes he for the most part had the advantage; but once he was in danger of being totally defeated, and lofing his whole army; for Pompey having fought with great resolution, put his men to flight, and killed two thousand upon the place; but either he was not able, or he was afraid to force his way together with them into their camp. Upon which Cæfar faid to his friends, That that day would have given an absolute conquest to the enemy, if they had had a man at

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^{*} Pompey was then in Candavia, as he was marching out of Macedonia to put his troops into winter-quarters at Dyrrachium, and Apollonia.

their head who knew how to conquer. Pompey's foldiers were fo encouraged by this victory, that they were earnestly desirous to come to a decisive engagement. But Pompey himself, though he wrote to foreign kings, princes, and states, as if he were already conqueror, yet was asraid to hazard the success of a battle, chusing rather by delays, and want of provisions, to tire out those who had never yet been conquered by force of arms, but had always, when they fought in a body, been accustomed to victory. Besides, the infirmities of their age now made them quickly weary of those other hardships of war, such as long marches, frequent decampments, making of trenches, and building of fortifications; so that they were eager to venture 2

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Pompey had hitherto by his perfuafions pretty well quieted his foldiers; but after this last engagement, when Cæsar for want of provisions was for ced to raife his camp, and had passed through A thamania into Thessaly, it was impossible to curb their spirits any longer. For all crying out with one voice, Cafar is fled, some were for pursuing him, others for returning into Italy; and some fent their friends and fervants beforehand into Rome, to hire houses near the forum, that they might be in readiness to sue for offices in the government. Several went of their own accord to Cornelia, who had been privately fent to Lesbos by Pompey, and congratulated her upon the conclusion of the war. A council of war being called, Afranius was of opinion, That Italy should first be regained, as that was the great prize for which they fought; besides, they who were in possession of that, would quickly be masters of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, and Gaul; but what was of the greatest moment, their native country lay near, stretching out her hands for help; and certainly it could not be consistent with Pompey's honour to leave her thus exposed to every kind of indignity, VOL. IV. and and in bondage to the slaves and flatterers of a tyrant. But Pompey himself, on the contrary, thought it neither honourable to fly a second time before Cæsar, and be pursued, when fortune had given him the advantage of a pursuit; nor indeed lawful to forsake Scipio his father-in-law, and many others of consular dignity dispersed throughout Greece and Thessay, who must necessarily fall into Cæsar's hands, together with all their wealth and forces. And as to his care for the city of Rome, that, he said, would most eminently appear, by sighting in her behalf at a distance, whereby she being every way insensible of those calamities that attend a war, might in peace ex-

pett the return of the conqueror.

This being determined, Pompey marched forwards in pursuit of Cæsar, firmly resolved not to give him battle, but rather to befiege and diftress him, by following him close, straitening his quarters, and cutting off his supplies. For, beside other reasons that made him form this resolution, he heard of a combination among the Roman knights, who defigned, as foon as Cæfar was overthrown, to humble him too; and therefore fome report, it was on this account that Pompey never employed Cato in any matter of consequence during the whole war; and now when he purfued Cæfar, he left him to guard his baggage on the coast, fearing left, after Cæfar was fubdued, he likewife should foon be forced by Cato to lay down his authority.

Whilst he was thus slowly attending the motions of the enemy, he was loudly accused of designing not so much to circumvent Cæsar as his country and the senate, that he might always continue in authority, and keep those for his guards and servants, who themselves were worthy to govern the world. Besides, Domitius Ænobarbus, by continually calling him Agamemnon and King of kings, rendered him very odious. Nor was Favonius's raillery less offensive than the unseasonable liberty

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of speech taken by others, when in drollery he cried out, My friends, you must not expect to gather any sigs in Tusculum this year. And Lucius Afranius, who had lain under an imputation of treachery for betraying the army in Spain, when he perceived that Pompey industriously declined an engagement, said, That he could not but admire why they who were so ready to accuse him, did not go themselves and sight that mer-

chant, as they called him.

By these and many other such speeches, Pompey. whose sense of honour was so tender that he could not endure reproach, and whose respect for his friends would not fuffer him to refift their importunity, was induced, contrary to his better judgment, to follow their vain hopes and defires; a conduct. inexcusable in the pilot of a ship, but how much. more in the fovereign commander of fuch an army, and fo many nations! But he, though he had often commended those physicians who did not com. ply with the humorous appetites of their patients, yet could not himself deny the request of the diseased party of his army, rather than use any severity in the cure. And indeed who would not judge it infanity in those men, who went up and down the camp, fuing already for the offices of conful and prætor? Nay * Spinther, Domitius, and Scipio, made friends, raifed factions, and even quarrelled among themselves, who should succeed Casar in the dig-

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^{*} Cæsar has put this folly of Pompey's officers in a very good light, lib. 3. They wrangled and disputed about the rewards they were to have, and the priests offices. Some named the persons who were to succeed annually in the consulship for the ensuing years; others put in for the forfeited estates of those who followed Cæsar. And it was warmly debated in council, whether regard should be had to L. Hirtius, whom Pompey had sent against the Parthians, and whether he might be chosen prætor in his absence. His friends and relations urged Pompey's promise in his behalf, and insisted that he who relied on the general's honour should not be deceived. Domitius, Lentulus, and Scipio, disputed with great vehemence, each putting in his claim to Cæsar's priesthood. Lentulus sounded his pretensions upon the respect due to his age, Domitius upon his interest and authority at Rome, and Scipio upon his alliance with Pompey.

nity of his high priesthood, as if they were to engage only with Tigranes king of Armenia, or some petty Nabathæan king, not with that Cæsar and his army that had stormed a thousand towns, and subdued more than three hundred several nations, that had obtained the victory in innumerable engagements with the Germans and Gaūls, that had taken a million of men prisoners, and slain as many upon

the fpot in pitched battles.

But as foon as they came to the fields of Pharfalia, they grew very tumultuous, fo that they forced him by their importunities to call a council of war; where Labienus general of the horse stood up, and first folemnly fwore, That he would not return out of the battle till he had put the enemy to flight; and all the rest took the same oath. That night Pompey dreamed, that as he went into the theatre, the people received him with great applause, and that he adorned the temple of Venus the Victorious with many spoils. This vision partly encouraged, and partly disheartened him; for he feared left he should contribute to raife the glory and reputation of Cæfar, who was a descendent of Venus. Besides, a panic fear ran through the camp, with fuch a noise that it awaked him out of his fleep. And about the morningwatch there appeared over Cæfar's camp, where every thing was perfectly still, a great light, and from thence a stream of fire like a flaming torch that forth and darted down upon the camp of Pompey; Cæsar himself says that he saw it as he was walking his rounds.

* While Cæfar was preparing to raife his camp early in the morning in order to march to Scotusa, and the soldiers were busy in pulling down their

^{*} Cæsar finding that he could by no means bring Pompey to an engagement, thought it most advantageous to remove, and always be upon the march; for he hoped that by his frequent decampments he might easier provide for the substitute of his army, harass that of the enemy, and perhaps meet with a favourable opportunity of fighting. This resolution being taken, he gave the signal for decamping.

tents, and fending away their cattle and fervants before them with all their baggage, some scouts came in who brought word, that they faw arms carried to and fro in the enemy's camp, and heard a noise and tumult as of men preparing for battle. Not long after other fcouts came in with further intelligence, that the first ranks were already drawn up in order of battle. Cæfar therefore, when he had told them, That the wished-for day was now come, wherein they should fight with men, not with want and hunger, immediately gave orders for the red mantleto be hung up before his tent; for that was usually the fign of battle among the Romans. As foon as the foldiers faw it, they left their tents, and with great shouts of joy ran to their arms. The officers likewise on their parts drawing up their men in or. der of battle *, every one fell into his proper rank without any trouble or noise, as quietly and orderly as if they had been a chorus upon the stage.

^{*} This order of battle, such as we find it described here by Plutarch is quite contrary to that Cæfar himself gives of it in lib. 3. Cæfar upon his approach towards Pompey's camp, found he had made the following disposition of his forces. Pompey was on the left with the two legions Cæfar had returned to him at the beginning of the war. Scipio was in the middle with the Syrian legions. The Cilician legion, and the cohorts brought out of Spain by Afranius, were in the right, which was defended by a river of very difficult access; for this reason Pompey placed all his cavalry, slingers, and archers in the left. The whole amounted to forty-five thousand men, contained in a hundred and ten cohorts. Cæfar's army was drawn up in the following order. The tenth legion was according to custom placed in the right wing, and the ninth in the left; but as that had been confiderably weakened by the actions at Dyrrachium, he placed the eighth legion fo near to it, as to be able to support and reinforce it upon occasion. The rest of his forces filled up the space between those two wings. Anthony commanded on the left wing, Sylla on the right, and the main body was under the command of Domitius. As for Cæsar, he posted himself on the right overagainst Pompey. Appian's account of the disposition of the two armies differs from both these. One would hardly believe it possible that there could be any contradictory accounts of this battle of Pharfalia, which decided the fate of the universe. It is still more extraordinary that the account Cæsar has left of it himself should meet with a contradiction. Surely his evidence must be of the greatest authority. S 3 Pomper

Pompey himself led up the right wing of his army against Anthony, and placed his father-in-law Si pio in the centre overagainst Lucius Albinus. The left wing was commanded by Lucius Domitius, and supported by a great number of horse; for almost the whole cavalry was placed there to diffres Cæfar, and cut off the tenth legion, which was accounted the most firm and resolute in all the army, and in which Cæfar himfelf always fought in perfon. Cæfar observing the left wing of the enemy to be lined and guarded with fuch a ftrong body of horse, and fearing the glitter of their armour, fent for a detachment of fix cohorts from the rear, and placed them behind the tenth legion, commanding them not to ftir, left they should be discovered by the enemy, but as foon as the enemy's horse had charged, to make up with all speed to the front through the foremost ranks, and not to throw their javelins at a distance, (as is usual with the bravest foldiers, that they may come to a close fight with their fwords the fooner), but to strike them upwards into the eyes and faces of the enemy; telling them. That those fair young dancers would never endure the feel shining in their eyes, but would fly to save their bandsome faces. While Cæsar was thus employed, Pompey on horseback was viewing the order of both armies; and when he faw how well the enemy kept their ranks, expecting quietly the fignal of battle, and on the contrary how impatient and unfleady his own men were, moving up and down in great disorder for want of experience, he was very much afraid that their ranks would be broken upon the first onset; he therefore gave strict orders, that the vanguard should make a stand, and keeping close in their ranks should receive the enemy's * But Cæfar very much condemned this order.

^{*} There was just as much space between the two armies, as was fufficient for both to meet and charge; but Pompey had ordered his men

order, as not only tending to weaken the vigour of the foldiers blows, which is always greatest in those who give the onset, but also to damp the martial fire and spirit of the men themselves, whose breasts glow with a kind of enthusiastic valour when heated by their rapid course in the assault, and animated by the cheerful shouts of their companions.

Cæfar's army confififted of twenty-two thousand men; and Pompey's of somewhat above twice that number. When the fignal of battle was given on both fides, and the trumpets began to found a charge, the generality of them attended each to his particular bufiness; only a few of the Roman nobility, together with fome Grecians who flood asspectators of the battle, when they saw the armies ready to join, could not but confider with themselves to what an extremity the emulation and ambition of two men had brought the Roman empire; as nothing could more clearly show how blind and mad human nature is when hurried on by paffion, than the fight of two armies, both marshalled by the same rules, both using the same arms and banners, and both confifting of the flower and strength of the same city, engaging to their mutual destruction. For if they had been

men to receive the enemy's onfet without stirring, till Cæsar's army by charging first should be disordered. This he is faid to have done by the advice of Triarius, that the first force and impetuosity of those troops might be weakened, and their ranks thinned, and that then they who had remained firm in their posts might attack them with a better effect, when they were thus broken and dispersed. Besides, he was in hopes that their javelins would do less execution if they received them in their posts, than if they advanced to meet them, and that Cæfar's foldiers running through the whole space themselves, instead of meeting them in the midst, would come up out of breath and wearied. But, in my opinion, this was done without any reason: because that vehemence and alacrity which is natural to every man, is inflamed by the eagerness and fury of the onset, and ought not to be checked, but rather encouraged by the general. Our ancestors therefore wifely ordained that trumpets should found on every side, and all the soldiers raise a shout, conceiving that those were the most proper means to animate their own troops, and firike terror into the enemy. Caf. de bell, civ, lib, 111,

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defirous only to rule, they might have enjoyed in peace what they had conquered in war, the greatest and best part of the world being subject to them both by sea and land; and if their ambition still thirsted for new trophies and triumphs, the Parthian and German wars might have yielded matter enough to fatisfy the most covetous of honour: nay, Scythia was yet unconquered, and the Indians too, where their ambition might be coloured over with the specious pretence of civilizing those barbarous nations; and what Scythian horse, Parthian arrows, or Indian riches, could be able to refift feventy thousand Roman foldiers armed well. under the command of two fuch generals as Pompey and Cæfar, whose names they had heard of before that of the Romans? So wild; savage, and ignorant were many of the nations which they had conquered. But now were they opposed in battle one against the other, to the destruction of that very glory to which they facrificed their country; for after that day they could not both be esteemed invincible, as hitherto they had been. So that the alliance contracted betwixt them by Pompey's marriage with Julia, must be considered as having been from the beginning an artful project of two defigning men for their own interest, rather than a pledge of a fincere friendship.

As foon as the plains of Pharfalia were covered with men, horfes, and armour, and the fignal of battle was given on both fides, Caius Crastinus, who commanded a body of a hundred and twenty men, was the first that advanced out of Cæsar's army, to give the charge, and acquit himself of a solemn engagement that he had made to Cæsar. For Cæsar, as he was going out of his tent in the morning, saw Crastinus, and calling to him, asked him, What his opinion was concerning the event of that battle? To which he, stretching out his right hand, replied aloud, Thou shalt obtain a signal victory, Cæsar;

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and I myself this day will be the subject of thy praise either alive or dead. In pursuance of this promise he broke out of his rank, and being followed by many more, charged into the midst of his enemies. They came presently to a close fight with their swords, and made a great slaughter; but as Crastinus was still pressing forward, and breaking through the foremost ranks, a certain soldier ran his sword into his mouth, so that the point of it came out behind at his neck. Crastinus being thus slain, the fight became doubtful, and continued equal in that

part of the battle.

Pompey had not yet brought on the right wing, but looking earnestly towards the left, waited to fee what execution his cavalry would do there. They had already drawn out their fquadrons in form, defigning to encompass Cæsar, and force those few horse which he had placed in the front, to fall back upon the foot. But as foon as Cæfar had given the fignal, his horse retreated back a little, and made way for those fix auxiliary cohorts (confisting of three thousand men) which had been posted in the rear to prevent that wing from being encompassed; these rushed out, and fiercely charged the enemy, striking their javelins upwards; according to their instructions, and aiming at their These young men, being unskilful in any manner of fight, and least of all expecting or understanding such a kind as this, had not courage enough to endure the blows upon their faces, but turning their backs, and covering their eyes with their hands, were shamefully put to flight. far's men, without pursuing them, turned towards the foot, and attacked them on all parts of that wing which lay naked and unguarded by the horfe, fo that they were prefently invironed on every fide; and now being attacked in the flank by thefe, and in the front by the tenth legion, they were not able to stand the charge, or make any longer refistance, finding

finding themselves encompassed by means of that scheme which they had laid to surround the enemy. These being thus put to slight, Pompey, by the dust which he saw slying in the air, conjectured what was the sate of his cavalry. It would be dissicult to express his thoughts at that time; but he looked more like a man astonished and distracted, than one who should have called to mind that he was Pompey the Great. He retired slowly towards his camp, without speaking a word to any man, behaving exactly according to the description in these verses of Homer *.

But partial fove espousing Hector's part, Shot heav'n-bred horrour through the Grecian's heart; Confus'd, unnerv'd in Hector's presence grown, Amaz'd he stood, with terrours not his own. O'er his broad back his moony shield he threw, And glaring round by tardy steps withdrew. Pope.

In this condition, he went into his own tent, and fat down, remaining in a profound filence, until some of the enemies fell in together with his men that were flying into the camp †, and then he said, What? into the very camp? And without speaking one word more, he rose up, and putting on a garment suitable to his present fortune, departed secretly.

By this time the rest of the army was put to slight, and there was a great slaughter in the camp among the servants, and those that guarded the tents; but of the soldiers themselves, there were not above six thousand slain, as it is reported by Assinius Pollio, who was present in the action, and

* This passage is in the eleventh book of the Isad, where Homer speaks of Ajax's slight before Hector.

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[†] For Cæsar, as soon as he had won the battle, immediately attacked the entrenchments, that Pompey might not have time to recollect himself. Those who were left to guard the camp behaved very bravely, but were at last forced to yield,

fought on Cæsar's side *. When Cæsar's soldiers had taken the camp, they saw clearly the folly and vanity of the enemy; for all their tents were adorned with garlands of myrtle, and slowered carpets and hangings, their tables were covered with cups, and vessels of wine were set out; and such were their foolish hopes and vain considence, that their whole preparation and furniture was that of people going to feast and sacrifice, rather than of men

arming for battle.

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When Pompey had got a little way from the camp, he quitted his horse. He had but a small retinue with him; and finding that he was not purfued, he walked on foftly a-foot, taken up altogether with fuch thoughts as probably might poffefs a man, that, for the space of thirty-four years together, had been accustomed to conquest and victory, and then in his old age, for the first time experienced the misfortune of a defeat, beginning to know the calamities of war in flaughter and flight. And it was no small affliction to consider. that he had loft in one hour all that glory and power, which he had been acquiring in fo many wars and battles; and that he, who a little before was guarded with fuch a numerous army of horse and foot, and with fo great a fleet, was now flying in fo mean a condition, and with fuch a flender retinue, that his very enemies who fought him could not know him.

When he had passed by the city of Larissa, and came into the fields of Tempe, being very thirsty, he kneeled down and drank out of the river; then rising up again, he passed through the valley until he came to the sea-side, and there he betook himself to a poor fisherman's cottage, where he lodged all the remainder of the night. The next morning about break of day he went into a small river-

^{*} Cæsar says, that in all there were fifteen thousand killed, and twenty-four thousand taken prisoners.

boat, together with all his companions that were freemen, dismissing his servants, and advising them to go boldly to Cæfar, and not be afraid. As he was rowing up and down near the shore, he saw a large ship of burden just ready to fail; the master of which was Peticius, a Roman citizen, who though he was not familiarly acquainted with Pompey, yet knew him very well by fight. It happened, that this Peticius dreamed the night before that he faw Pompey, not fuch as he had often feen him, but conversing with him in a mean and disconsolate He was then telling his dream to the condition. paffengers, (as men commonly do that are at leifure), when on a fudden one of the mariners told him that he faw a little boat with oars putting off from shore, and that some of the men there shook their garments, and held out their hands to them. Upon this Peticius standing up, knew Pompey immediately, feeing him in the fame difguife as he appeared in his dream; and striking his head through grief, he ordered the mariners to let down the ship's boat, and stretching out his hand, called to him, being already affured of the change of his fortune by that of his garb: fo that, without any entreaty or discourse, he took him into his ship, together with fuch of his company as he thought fit, who were the two Lentuli and Favonius, and then hoisted fail. A little after feeing King Deiotarus making up towards them from the shore, they staid and took him in along with them. At fupper-time, the master of the ship having made ready such provisions as he had aboard, Pompey, for want of his fervants, began to pull off his shoes; which when Favonius perceived, he ran to him, pulled them off, and anointed him; and he always after continued to wait upon him, as fervants do upon their masters, even to the washing of his feet, and providing of his supper. fo that one there present, observing observing that free and unaffected courtesy in his services, cried out,

O-with what nameless grace the gen'rous mind Fulfils whate'er its virtue has design'd *!

Pompey failing by the city of Amphipolis, croffed over from thence to Mitylene, with a design to take in Cornelia and his fon. As foon as he arrived at the port in that island, he dispatched a messenger into the city, with news very different from Cornelia's expectation; for fhe, by all the former messages and letters fent to please her, had been put in hopes that the war was ended at Dyrrachium, and that there was nothing more remaining for Pompey, but the pursuit of Cæsar. The messenger finding her in the same hopes still, was not able to salute or fpeak to her, but declaring the greatness of her misfortune by his tears rather than by his words, defired her to make hafte if the would fee Pompey, with one ship only, and that not his own. Cornelia hearing this, threw herfelf upon the ground, and continued a long time diffracted and speechless. At last being with difficulty recovered, and confidering that this was no time for lamentation and tears, she started up and ran through the city towards the fea-fide, where Pompey met and embraced her just as she was ready to fall down, and threw herfelf into his arms for support. This, my dear husband, said she, is the effect of my fortune, not of yours, that I fee you thus dejected and reduced to one poor vessel, who before your marriage with Cornelia used to fail over those seas with a fleet of five hundred ships. Why therefore should you come to see me, and why not rather have left me to my unhappy fate, who have been the cause of all your misfortunes? How happy a woman had I been, if I had died before I had heard from Parthia of the death of Publius, to whom I was wedded in my virginity? And how prudent if I had fol-

* This is a passage of Euripides.

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lowed him to the grave as I designed? But I was referved for a greater mischief; even the ruin of Pompey the Great. Thus, they fay, Cornelia spoke to him; and this was Pompey's reply: Dear Cornelia, thou hast hitherto been accustomed only to the smiles of fortune, who perhaps has deceived thee by having been constant to me beyond her usual custom; but it behoves us, who are mortals, to bear these afflictions, and try our fortune once again; neither ought we to despond, since it is as possible to retrieve our former happiness after this distress, as it was to full from that into this present calamity. Upon this she sent for her goods and servants out of the city: the citizens of Mitylene came out also to falute Pompey, and invite him into the town; but he refused, advising them to be obedient to the conqueror, and not to fear, Cæfar being a man of great humanity and clemency. Then turning to Cratippus the philosopher, (who came among the rest out of the city to visit him), he began to complain and argue with him concerning providence. Cratippus feemed to yield in fome degree to his objections, and only encouraged him to hope for better times, being unwilling to offend him by an unfeafonable opposition. Not but that Cratippus might eafily have answered his arguments, and have demonstrated, that, by reason of the great disorders that abounded throughout the whole empire, it was necessary that the government should be lodged in the hands of a fingle person. And for his fuller conviction, he might have put this question to him; How, O Pompey, and by what token, may we be affured that if the victory had been thine, thou wouldst have used thy fortune better than Cæsar? But the dispensations of providence we must leave to the gods.

Fompey having taken his wife and friends aboard, fet fail, not touching at any port, but when he was necessitated to take in provisions or fresh water. The first place he touched at was Attalia, a city in Pamphylia. Whilst he was there, some galleys

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came thither to him out of Cilicia, together with a few bands of foldiers; and almost fixty fenators were affembled about him again. When he heard that his navy was fafe too, and that Cato had rallied a confiderable body of foldiers after their overthrow, and passed with them over into Africa, he began to complain to his friends, and to blame himself for having been prevailed upon to engage by land, without making use of those forces in which he was undoubtedly the stronger, and for not keeping near enough to his fleet, that if he had failed by land, he might still have had a power at fea fufficient to make head against the enemy. And indeed Pompey during all the war never committed a greater overfight, nor did Cæfar ever use a more fubtile stratagem, than in removing the battle so far from their naval forces.

Pompey being obliged to attempt something according to his present ability, sent messengers to fome of the neighbouring cities, and himself sailed about in person to others, to collect money for the equipment of his fleet. But being sensible of Cæfar's diligence and activity, and afraid left by a fudden arrival he might surprise him before he had finished his preparations, he began to consider what place would yield him the fafest retreat in the prefent situation of his affairs. A consultation being held, it was generally agreed, that they could not remain in fafety in any province belonging to the empire; and as to foreign kingdoms, he himfelf was of opinion that Parthia was the fittest both to receive and defend them in their present distress, as well as to affist them with the greatest force. Others of the council were for going into Africa, to King Juba; but Theophanes the Lesbian thought it madness to leave Egypt, (which was difrant but three days fail), and to forfake Ptolemy. who was now past his childhood, and was highly obliged to him for the friendship which he had T 2 fhown

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fhown to his father, only to trust himself to the Parthians, the most treacherous nation in the world. He represented it as very absurd to suffer Arsaces (by whom Craffus would not be taken alive) to become master of his person, rather than try the clemency of a generous Roman, and one who had been his father-in-law, to whom if he would but yield to be fecond, he might be the first over all others. Besides, he thought it would be great cruelty to expose his wife who was young, and who was of the family of Scipio, among fuch a barbarous people, who measure their greatness by their power to commit every kind of infolence and outrage, and from whom, though the might not fuffer any difhonour, yet it would be thought she did, being in the hands of those who had the power to injure her. This argument alone, they fay, was fo perfuafive, as to divert Pompey from his intended course towards the Euphrates; if it were indeed Pompey's opinion, and not rather his fate that determined him to take the other way. As foon therefore as it was refolved upon, that he should fly into Egypt, he set fail from Cyprus, in a galley of Seleucia, together with Cornelia, and fafely croffed the fea, the rest of his company, fome in galleys and others in ships of burden, failing by. But when he understood that King Ptolemy was with his army at Pelufium, making war against his fifter, he steered his course that way, and fent a meffenger before to acquaint him with his arrival, and crave his protection. Ptolemy himself was very young; and therefore Photinus, who had the administration of the government, called a council of the chief men of the court, (those being the greatest whom he pleased to make fo), and commanded each of them to deliver his opinion. But who can without indignation confider that the fate of Pompey the Great should be determined by Photinus an eunuch, Theodotus of Chios a rhetorician, who taught for reward, and Achillas

an Egyptian? For of all those who attended the king's person, or who had a share in his education. thefe three were his chief counsellors, and had the greatest -influence over him. In the mean time. Pompey riding at anchor at a distance from shore. waited the refult of this council; he who thought it beneath his dignity to owe his fafety to Cæfar. They were divided in their opinions. Some of them were for giving Pompey a kind and honourable reception; others thought he ought not to be. admitted. But Theodotus, to show the power of his eloquence, undertook to demonstrate that neither advice was fafe; for if they entertained him, they would be fure to make Cæfar their enemy, and Pompey their master; and if they dismissed him, they might render themselves hereafter obnoxious to Pompey, for that inhospitable expulsion, and to Cæsar, for letting him escape: so that the fafest expedient would be to send for him, and take away his life, for by that means they would ingratiate themselves with the one, and have no reason to fear the other, adding, as it is reported, with a smile, That a dead man cannot bite. This advice being approved of, they committed the execution of it to Achillas: he therefore taking with him as his accomplices, one Septimius, a man who had formerly been an officer in Pompey's army, and Salvius who had also been a centurion under him, with three or four officers more, made up towards Pompey's galley. In the mean time, all the chief of those who accompanied Pompey in this voyage, were come into his ship to see the event of the eme baffy. But when they faw that their reception was neither princely, nor honourable, nor indeed at all answerable to the hopes of Theophanes, and that there came but a few men in a fisherman's boat to meet them, they began to suspect this contemptuous treatment, and advised Pompey to turn back whilst he was out of their reach, and launch into the main fea. By this time, the Egyptian boat drew near,

near, and Septimius standing up first, saluted Pompey in the Latin tongue by the title of Imperator. Then Achillas faluting him in the Greek language, defired him to come aboard his veffel, telling him, that the fea was very shallow towards the shore, and that a galley of that burden could not avoid ftriking upon the fand. At the fame time they faw feveral of the king's galleys well manned, and all the shore covered with foldiers; so that if they had changed their minds, it feemed impossible for them to escape; and besides, their distrust would have given the affaffins a pretence for their cruelty. Pompey therefore taking his leave of Cornelia, who lamented his death beforehand, bid two centurions, together with Philip one of his freedmen, and a flave called Scenes, to go aboard of the Egyptian's boat before him; and as some of the people belonging to Achillas were reaching out their hands to help him, he turned about towards his wife and fon, and repeated those iambics of Sophocles,

Who refuge seeks within a tyrant's door, When once he enters there is free no more.

These were the last words he spoke to his friends, after which he immediately went into the boat. There was a confiderable diftance betwixt his galley and the shore; and when he perceived that none of the company paid him the least civility, or even spoke to him, he looked upon Septimius, and faid, Methinks I should know thee, friend; have not we been formerly fellow-soldiers? But he only nodded with his head, making no reply, nor showing any other mark of respect. Since therefore they continued filent, Pompey took a little book in his hand (in which was written a Greek oration, which he intended for King Ptolemy), and began to read. When they drew near to the shore, Cornelia, together with the rest of her friends in the galley, watched the event with great anxiety; and she began to take courage at last, when she faw feveral of the court coming to meet him, imagining that it might be for a more honourable reception. But at that instant, while Pompey was taking Philip by the hand in order to raise himself with more ease, Septimius came first of all behind with his fword. and run him through; and at the same time, Salvius and Achillas drew their fwords likewife. Pompey taking up his gown with both hands, covered his face, and without faying or doing any thing unworthy of himfelf, only groaning a little, refolutely endured the wounds they gave him, and fo ended his life, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, the very next day after his birth-day. Cornelia with her company from the galleys, feeing him murdered, gave fuch a shriek, that it was heard to the shore, and weighing anchor with all speed, they hoisted fail and fled. A bright gale from the shore affifted their flight, fo that the Egyptians failed of their defign, and defisted from pursuing them. The murderers cut off Pompey's head, and threw the body overboard, leaving it naked upon the fhore, to be viewed by all who were defirous to fee it. Philip staid by and watched it till their curiofity was fatisfied; he then washed it with sea-water, and having nothing elfe, wrapt it up in one of his own garments. By fearthing up and down about the fands, he at last found some old planks of a little fisher-boat; the quantity was not great, but fufficient however to make a funeral pile for a naked body that was not quite entire. As Philip was bufy in collecting and putting thefe planks together, an old Roman, who in his youth had ferved his first campaigns under Pompey, came to him, and demanded, Who he was that was preparing the funeral of Pompey the Great? Philip answered, That he was his freed man. But you shall not have this hanour alone, faid he; let me too have a share in this pious office, that I may not altogether repent that I have been

been obliged to live in a strange country, but in compensa. tion of all my misfortunes, may obtain this happiness at last to touch and wrap up with my own hands the body of the greatest general among the Romans. In this manner was the funeral of Pompey performed. The next day Lucius Lentulus, not knowing what had paffed, came from Cyprus; and as he failed along the coast, seeing a funeral pile, and Philip (whom he did not know at first) standing by, he asked him, Who it was that was dead and buried there? Then paufing a little, and fetching a deep figh, Perhaps, faid he, even thou O Pompey the Great! Soon after going ashore, he was apprehended and Such was the end of Pompey the Great. flain.

Not long after this Cæfar came into Egypt, where he found every thing in the greatest confusion and diforder. Upon his arrival they showed him the head of Pompey, but he looked with abhorrence on him who brought it. They delivered to him Pompey's feal, on which was engraved a lion holding a fword; and he burst into tears upon receiving it. Achillas and Photinus he put to death; and King Ptolemy himself, being overthrown in battle upon the banks of the Nile, difappeared, and was never heard of afterwards. Theodotus the rhetorician flying out of Egypt, escaped from Cæsar's justice, but lived a vagabond in great poverty, univerfally despised and hated; till at last, Marcus Brutus (after he had killed Cæfar), finding him in his province of Asia, put him to death, having first made him fuffer the most exquisite torments. The afhes of Pompey were carried to his wife Cornelia, who buried them at his country-house near Alba.

The Comparison of Pompey with Agesilaus.

HAving described the lives of Agesilaus and Pompey, let us now briefly draw the parallel,

and show in what circumstances they differ from each other. In the first place, Pompey obtained his greatness and reputation by the justest methods, having advanced himfelf by his own merit, and by the many fignal fervices which he rendered to Sylla in affifting him to deliver Italy from the usurpation of tyrants. But Agefilaus appears to have ufurped a kingdom in violation of the laws both of gods and men, by declaring Leotychides a baftard, though his brother had acknowledged him as his legitimate fon, and by putting a false gloss uponthe oracle, and eluding the prophecy concerning his lameness *. Secondly, Pompey had a constant veneration for Sylla all his lifetime, and after his death honourably interred him in spite of the opposition of Lepidus, and gave his daughter in marriage to his fon Faustus. But Agefilaus, upon a flight pretence, cast off Lyfander with reproach and dishonour. So that Sylla received in return from Pompey no less than he gave him; whereas Lyfander made Agefilaus king of Sparta, and general of all Greece. Thirdly, Pompey's offences against the state and laws were occasioned chiefly by his relations; for in most of his errours he was associated with Cæfar and Scipio, who were both his fathers-in-law. But Agefilaus, to gratify the paffion of his fon, faved the life of Sphodrias, when he deserved death for the injuries he had done to the Athenians; and he was openly and cordially an abettor of Phœbidas in the breach of the league with the Thebans, merely for the iniquity of the act itself. In short, whatever injury Pompey did to the Romans through ignorance or a timorous respect for his friends, the same was committed by Agefilaus against the Lacedæmonians out of obstinacy and malice, he himself being the sole author of the Bœotian war. If the unfuccessful events of their lives are to be attributed to fortune, there

will be this distinction between them, that Pompey's ill fortune must have been quite unexpected by the Romans; whereas Agesilaus would not suffer the Lacedæmonians to avoid what they foresaw and heard must attend the reign of a lame king; for had Leotychides been proved by ten thousand arguments to be spurious, yet the race of the Eurytiontidæ was still in being *, and there could never have been wanting one descended from that line, to surnish Sparta with a natural and lawful king, and one who was entire in his limbs too, had not Lysander darkened and disguised the true sense of

the oracle in favour of Agefilaus.

As to their political talents, there never was a more prudent and falutary contrivance than that devised by Agefilaus in the perplexity occasioned by those who had fled at the battle of Leuctra, when. after that unhappy defeat, he decreed, That the laws should sleep for that day; neither have we any thing to compare with this in all Pompey's history; on the contrary, that he might show to his friends the greatness of his power, he did not scruple for their fake to break those very laws which he himself had made; whereas Agefilaus, when he feemed under a necessity of dissolving the laws to preserve his citizens from infamy, devised an expedient to spare them without abrogating the laws. This too must be confidered as a fingular inftance of civil virtue in Agefilaus, that immediately upon the receipt of the Scytale (or scroll of parchment from the Ephori), he left the war in Afia, and returned into his country; for his case was not like that of Pompey, who rendered himself great by the same conduct that was beneficial to the public +; for Agefilaus,

* Vol. 1. p. 164. 165. and note + p. 171.

[†] Plutarch seems to have had in view Pompey's compliance with the order of Sylla to disband his army in Africa; in return for which mark of respect Sylla when he met him saluted him by the title so Great. But Pompey could not foresee that his obedience would be so well rewarded.

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attentive only to the prosperity and grandeur of his country, did for the sake of that renounce as great honour and authority as ever any person attained to, either before or after him, except Alexander the Great. But let us now consider them in another view.

If we reflect on Pompey's military expeditions and exploits, the number of his trophies, and the greatness of the armies which he commanded, and of the battles which he won, I am persuaded that even Xenophon himfelf would not put the victories of Agefilaus in comparison with his, though he has this privilege allowed him *, (as a fingular reward for all his other virtues), that he may write and speak in favour of his hero whatever he pleases. Methinks too there is a great deal of difference betwixt these men, in their moderation towards their enemies. For whilft Agefilaus was attempting to conquer Thebes and destroy Messene, one the city from which his family fprung, the other Sparta's fifter-colony +, he had almost ruined Sparta herfelf; and she really did lose by his means her fuperiority over the rest of Greece. Whereas Pompey gave cities to those of the pirates who were willing to change their course of life; and when it was in his power to have led Tigranes king of Armenia in triumph, he chose rather to make him an ally of the Romans, faying, That a glory which was to last throughout all ages, was to be preferred to that which was to be but of one day's continuance. But if the prize of military virtue is to be the reward of fuch actions and counfels as are the diffinguishing glory of a brave warriour and a wife commander, we shall find that the Roman comes far behind the Lacedz-

† For Messene was a colony of the Heraclidæ as well as Sparta; and

Thebes was the birth-place of Hercules.

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^{*} Plutarch mentions this on account of a treatife written by Xenophon, which is no other than an encomium upon Agefilaus, and in which he would represent him as the greatest man that ever was, considered even in his military capacity.

monian; for Agefilaus never deferted his city, though it was belieged by an army of seventy thoufand men, when there were very few foldiers within to defend it, and those had been defeated too but a little before at the battle of Leuctra. Whereas Pompey no fooner heard, that Cæfar with a body of five thousand three hundred men had made himself master of one town in Italy, but he was so terrified as to abandon Rome, either meanly yielding to a fmaller force than his own, or falfely imagining it to be greater. And having conveyed away his own wife and children, he fled, leaving all the rest of the citizens defenceless; whereas he ought either to have conquered fighting in defence of his country, or if defeated, to have yielded upon terms to the conqueror, who was his fellow-citizen and relation. But now that man to whom he denied an enlargement of the term of his government, and to whom he could not endure to grant another confulship, was suffered by him to take posfeffion of the city, and to tell Metellus the tribune, together with all the rest, That they were his prisoners. That therefore which is the principal office of a general, to put the enemy under a necessity of fighting when he finds himself the stronger, and not to be forced to come to an engagement when he is the weaker, was well understood by Agefilaus, and by this he always kept himself invincible. But Pompey was very defective in this talent, and could never force Cæfar to engage at a disadvantage, but was himself forced by Cæsar to hazard all in a battle by land, where he was weakest; by which means Cæfar became master of his treasures and provisions, and of the sea itself, all which Pompey might have preferved had he known how to avoid an engagement. That which is alleged as an apology for Pompey, is the highest reproach to so great a general; for that a young commander Thould be terrified and overpowered by the tumults minor

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and clamours of his soldiers, so as to quit the most fafe and prudent measures, is neither strange, nor altogether unpardonable. But who can bear to think, that Pompey the Great, whose camp the Romans called their country, and whose tent they called the fenate, styling the confuls, prætors, and all other magistrates who remained at Rome, rebels and traitors, who was never known to have been under the command of any but himfelf, (having been fole general in all the glorious expeditions in which he had ever been engaged); who, I fay, can bear to think that upon fo fmall a provocation as the scoffs of Favonius and Domitius, and the fear of having the nickname of Agamemnon, he should be in a manner forced to hazard the whole empire and liberty of Rome upon a fingle cast? For if he so much regarded present infamy, he should have opposed Cæsar at first by fighting in defence of the city, and not have left it as he did, colouring over his flight with the pretence of imitating Themistocles. Could he after this imagine that there was any reproach in delaying a battle in Theffaly? For neither did the gods appoint the Pharfalian fields to be the theatre upon which they should contend for the empire of Rome, neither was he fummoned thither by any herald, with intimation, that he must either undergo the combat, or furrender the crown to another: but there were many other fields, thousands of cities, and even the whole earth, any part of which his fleet put it in his power to chuse, if he would but have followed the examples of Maximus, Marius, Lucullus, and even Agefilaus himfelf, who endured no less tumults within the city of Sparta, when the Thebans provoked him to battle for the refidue of his country: he endured likewife many calumnies and accufations in Egypt, through the imprudence of the king, whilst he advised him to wait with patience, and delay the battle; and by following al-VOL. IV. ways

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ways what he had determined in his own judgment upon mature deliberation, he not only preserved the Egyptians against their will, and kept Sparta from falling in that dreadful convulsion, but fet up a trophy likewise in the city in memory of the overthrow of the Thebans; fo that, by not fuffering himself to be prevailed on by the importunities of his citizens to lead them out to their destruction. he afterwards gave them an occasion of victory. Agefilaus therefore was at last highly commended. even by those whom he had obliged to act against their inclinations; whereas Pompey found those to be his accusers, whose counsels he had followed. and who had forced him upon those errours which proved his destruction. It is true, some fay, that he was deceived by his father-in-law Scipio, who defigning to conceal and keep to himself the greatest part of that treasure which he had brought out of Asia, urged Pompey to battle upon this pretence, that there would be a want of money; however. admitting this to be true, yet fuch a general ought not to have been to easily deluded, to the hazard of all the greatest concerns of the commonwealth. And thus we have taken a view of each, by comparing them together in their military conduct.

As to their voyages into Egypt: one fled thither out of necessity; the other went neither honourably nor necessarily, but as a mercenary soldier, having listed himself into the service of a barbarous nation for pay, that he might be able to wage war upon the Grecians. Lastly, the crime which we charge upon the Egyptians in their behaviour to Pompey, the Egyptians charge upon Agesilaus: for one was betrayed by those whom he trusted; the other betrayed his trust by deserting to the

enemies of those whom he went to affift.

LIFE

O F

ALEXANDER the GREAT.

TT being my defign in this volume to write the life of Alexander, and of Cæfar by whom Pompey was destroyed, I shall only premise, (since the multitude of their great actions affords me fo large a field), that I hope my readers will not be displeafed to find that I have chosen rather to epitomize the most celebrated parts of their history, than to infift at large on every particular circumstance; efpecially confidering that my defign is not to write histories, but lives. Besides, the most glorious exploits do not always furnish us with the clearest difcoveries of virtue, or vice, in men; fometimes a matter of less moment, a fingular expression or a left, informs us better of their manners and inclinations, than the most famous sieges, the arrangement of the greatest armies, or the bloodiest battles. Therefore as painters, when they draw a portrait, are more exact in the lines and features of the face, from which we may best discover the peculiar disposition of the mind, than in the other parts of the body; fo let me be allowed to exhibit a picture of the lives of these great men, by chiefly studying and describing those particulars which most distinctly characterise their temper and genius, leaving their more splendid actions and achievements.

to be treated of by others.

It is univerfally agreed, that on the father's fide Alexander descended from Hercules by Caranus, and from Æacus by Neoptolemus on the mother's. fide *. His father Philip being in Samothrace when he was young, fell in love there with Olympias, with whom he was initiated in the religious ceremonies of the country; and her father and mother being both dead, he foon after, with the confent of her brother Arymbas, married her. The night before the confummation of the marriage, the dreamed that a thunderbolt fell upon her belly, which kindled a great fire, the flames of which divided themselves on all sides, and then were extinguished. And Philip, some time after he was married, dreamed that he fealed up his wife's belly with a feal, whose impression, as he fancied, was the figure of a lion. Some interpreted this as a warning to Philip to look narrowly to his wife; but Aristander of Telmissus considering it was unufual to feal up any thing that was empty, affured him the meaning of his dream was, that the queen was with child of a boy, who would one day prove as stout and courageous as a lion. Not long after, a dragon was observed to lie close by Olympias while the flept; upon which Philip's affection to her fenfibly abated: for whether he feared her as an inchantrefs, or thought the had commerce with fome god, and so looked on himself as unequal to fuch a rival, he was ever after less fond of her company. Others fay, that the women of this country having always been extremely addicted to

^{*} Caranus, who was the fixteenth in descent from Hercules, got por effion of Macedonia, and Alexander the Great was the twenty-tecond descendent from Caranus, so that from Hercules to Alexander there were thirty-eight generations. The descent by his mother's side is not so clear, there being many degrees wanting in it. It is sufficient to know that Olympias was the daughter of Neoptolemus, and sister to Arymbas.

the enthusiastic ceremonies of Orpheus and Bacchus, (upon which account they were called Clodones and Mimallones), imitated in many things the Edonian and Thracian women about mount Hæmus, from whom the word Thresceuin seems to be derived, which signifies to perform extravagant and supersitious rites; and that Olympias having a peculiar zeal for these fanatical and enthusiastic inspirations, in order to give the solemnities a more wild and horrid appearance, used to have large tame serpents with her, which sometimes creeping out of the ivy and the mystic fans, sometimes winding themselves about the sacred spears, and the womens chaplets,

struck the spectators with terrour.

Philip after this vision sent Chæron of Megalopolis to consult the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, by which he was commanded to sacrifice to, and adore Jupiter Ammon above all the other gods. And it is said that he lost that eye with which he presumed to peep through the chink of the door, when he saw the god in the form of a serpent lying by his wife. Eratosthenes says, that Olympias, when she brought Alexander on his way in his first expedition, told him in private the secret of his birth, and exhorted him to behave with courage suitable to his divine extraction. Others again assim, that she wholly declined this vanity, and used to say, Will Alexander never leave making Juno jealous of me?

Alexander was born on the fixth of Hecatombæon [July], (which month the Macedonians call Lous), the fame day that the temple of Diana at Ephefus was burnt; upon which occasion Hegesias of Magnesia * utters a conceit so frigid that it might have

^{*} Hegesias was an historian, and flourissed during the reign of Ptolemy the son of Lagus. This conceit which Plutarch applies to him, and which he calls so cold, is attributed to Timæus by Cicero, who thinks it a very good one. Concinneque ut multa Timæus, qui cum in bifloria dixisset, qua nocte natus Alexander osset, cadem Dianæ Ephesiæ templum

have ferved to extinguish the flames: It is no wonder, fays he, that the temple of Diana should be burnt, as she was then attending as midwife at the birth of Alexander. All the priefts and foothfayers who were then at Ephefus, looking upon the ruin of this temple to be the forerunner of some other calamity, ran about the town, beating their faces, and crying out, that that day had brought forth something that would prove fatal and destructive to all Asia. Philip had just taken Potidæa, when he received these three messages on the same day: that Parmenio had overthrown the Illyrians in a great battle; that his racehorse had won the prize at the Olympic games; and that his wife was brought to bed of Alexander; with which being extremely pleased, as an addition to his fatisfaction, the diviners affured him that a fon whose birth was accompanied with three victories, could not fail of being invincible.

The statues that most resembled Alexander were those of Lysippus, by whom alone this prince would fuffer his image to be made. The inclination of his head which leaned a little to one fide, and the liveliness of his eyes, (in which particulars his friends and fucceffors chiefly affected to imitate him), were very accurately expressed by the artist. But Apelles, who drew him with thunderbolts in his hand. made his complexion browner and darker than it. really was; for he is faid to have been fair, with a mixture of ruddiness chiefly in his face and upon his breaft. Aristoxenus in his memoirs tells us. that an admirable fcent proceeded from his skin, and that his breath and whole body was fo fragrant, as to perfume the cloaths which he wore next him; the cause of which might probably be his hot and

plum destagravisse, adjunxit minimum id esse miraculum, quod Diana, cum in partu Olympiadis adesse voluisset, absuisset domo. Had this been said by Lucian in ridicule of the Pagan theology, it might have deserved praise; but considered as a serious resection, it certainly is justly censured by Plutarch; however he can hardly escape the same censure himself for the turn of his criticism.

adust temperament; for sweet smells, as Theophrastus conjectures, are produced by the concoction of moist humours by heat, which is the reason that those parts of the world which are driest and most burnt up, afford spices of the best kind, and in the greatest quantity; for the heat of the sun exhausts the superstuous moisture, which sloats upon the surface of bodies and generates putrefaction. And this hot constitution, it may be, rendered Alexander so addicted to drinking, and so choleric.

In his early youth he was very temperate with: regard to the pleasures of the body, being with much difficulty incited to them, and always using them with great moderation; though in other things he was extremely eager and vehement. his love and purfuit of glory he showed a dignity and magnanimity far above his age; for he neither fought nor valued it upon every flight occasion, as his father Philip did, who affected to show his eloquence like a fophist, and took care to have the victories of his chariots at the Olympic games engraven on his coin. But when Alexander was asked by fome about him, whether he would run a, race in the Olympic games, (for he was very fwiftfooted), he answered, He would, if he might have kings to run with him. It is evident that he had no opinion of the athletic exercises; for though he often appointed prizes for tragedians, for performers on the flute and harp, and for rhapfodifts *, and gave entertainments of every kind of hunting, and of fighting with cudgels, yet he rarely gave any encouragement either to boxing or wreftling.

While he was yet very young, he entertained the ambassadors from the king of Persia in the absence of his father, and charmed them with his politeness and affability; but they were peculiarly pleased with the questions he asked them, which were far from

^{*} The rhapfodifts were persons who recited or sung passages from the poets, and especially from Homer.

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being childish or trifling; for he inquired of them the distances of places, the manner of travelling in the remoter parts of Asia, the character of their king, how he behaved to his enemies, and what forces he was able to bring into the field; fo that they were struck with admiration of him, and looked upon the abilities of Philip, though fo highly celebrated, to be nothing in comparison of the extensive genius and enterprising spirit of his son. Whenever he heard that Philip had taken any town of importance, or won any fignal victory, inflead of rejoicing at it, he would tell his companions, that his father would anticipate every thing, and leave him and them no opportunities of performing great and illustrious actions. For being more addicted to virtue and glory, than either to pleasure or riches, he esteemed all that he should receive from his father, as a diminution of his own future achievements; and he would have chosen rather to succeed to a kingdom involved in troubles and wars, which would have afforded him frequent exercise of his valour, and a large field of honour, than to one already flourishing and fettled, where he must lead an unactive life, and be as it were buried in the fordid enjoyments of wealth and luxury.

The care of his education, was committed to a great many preceptors and tutors, over whom Leonidas, a kiniman of Olympias, a man of an auftere temper, prefided. Though he did not decline the title of preceptor, the office itself being important and honourable, yet, because of his dignity and relation to the royal family, he was called by others Alexander's foster-father and governour. But he who took upon him the place and name of his preceptor, was Lyfimachus the Acarnanian, who, though not diftinguished by his merit or polite accomplishments, recommended himself to favour, and obtained the next rank to Leonidas, merely by calling

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calling himself Phænix, Alexander Achilles, and Phi-

lip Peleus.

When Philonicus the Theffalian brought the horse Bucephalus to Philip, offering to sell him for thirteen talents *, they went into the field to try him; but they found him fo very vitious and unmanageable, that he reared up when they endeavoured to back him, and would not fo much as endure the voice of any of Philip's attendants. Philip, difliking him and ordering his fervants to lead him away as altogether wild and untractable, Alexander, who ftood by, would not let them, faying, What an excellent horse do they lose, for want of address and boldness to manage bim? Philip at first took no notice of what he faid; but when he heard him repeat the same thing, and saw that he was uneasy, he faid, Do you reproach those who are elder than yourself, as if you knew more, and were better able to manage a horse than they? Yes, replied he, with this horse I could deal better than any one else. And if you do not, faid Philip, what will you forfeit for your rashness? The whole price of the horse, said Alexander. At this the whole company fell a-laughing; but as foon as the agreement was made between them about the money, he immediately ran to the horse, and taking hold of the bridle, turned him directly towards the fun, having it feems observed that he was frighted by the motion of his own shadow. Then letting him go forward a little, still keeping the reins in his hand, and stroking him gently, when he found his fury begin to abate, he let fall his upper garment foftly, and with one nimble leap mounted on his back; and when he was fecurely feated, by little and little he straitened the bridle, and curbed

^{*} This will appear a moderate price to those who have read what Varro writes in lib. 3. cap. 2. de re rust. that Q. Axius a senator gave four hundred thousand sesserces for an ass; and still more moderate when compared with what Tavernier relates that there were horses in Arabia valued at a hundred thousand crowns.

him without striking or teasing him. Afterwards, when he perceived his heat and mettle was less impetuous, though he was still eager to run, he let him go at full speed, not only encouraging him with a commanding voice, but pressing him forward also with his heel. All who were present beheld this action at first with silent astonishment, and apprehension for Alexander's safety; till seeing him turn at the end of his career, and come back rejoicing and triumphing for what he had performed, they all burst out into acclamations of applause; and his father weeping for joy, kissed him as he came down from his horse, and in his transport said, O my son, seek some kingdom equal to thy worth, for Macedonia is too little for thee.

Philip confidering that he was of a temper not eafily controlled, and that though he might be led to his duty by reason, he was impatient of compulsion, always endeavoured to persuade, rather than to command him. And now looking upon instruction and education to be of too great difficulty and importance to be wholly trusted to those masters who only taught him music, and other superficial and vulgar sciences, and to require, as Sophocles

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The guiding rudder and restraining curb,

he sent for Aristotle, the most knowing and celebrated philosopher of his time, and rewarded him with a muniscence proportionable to the care he took to instruct his son. For he repeopled his native city Stagira, which he had caused to be demolished a little before, restored to their habitations all the citizens who were in exile or slavery, and assigned them the Nymphæum for their studies and exercises, near the town of Mieza, where to this day they show Aristotle's stone seats, and the shady walks which he used to frequent. It appears that Alexander was instructed by him not only in morality

lity and policy, but in those more abstruse and difficult parts of learning, which are called by the peculiar names of Acroamatics *, and Epoptics, and which are never communicated to the vulgar. For when he was in Asia, and heard that Aristotle had published some treatises of that kind, he wrote to him with great freedom in the behalf of philosophy, in this manner: Alexander to Aristotle, health. You have not done well to publish your books of acroamatics; for what is there now wherein I can surpass others, if those things in which I have been particularly instructed by you, be laid open to all? For my part, I had rather excel others in the knowledge of the sublimer sciences, than in the extent of my power and dominion. Farewell. Aristotle, to appeafe him and gratify this noble ambition, answered that those books were indeed published, but not the fubject of them. For indeed his metaphysics are written in such a manner that they are unferviceable to learners, and ufeful only to those who are well versed in the principles of that science. It was probably to Aristotle that he owed the knowledge he had in physic: for when any of his friends were fick, he would often prescribe them their course of diet, and medicines proper to their disease, as we may find in his epistles. He was naturally a great lover of every kind of learning, and much addicted to reading; but the book he delighted in most was Homer's lliad, which he esteemed and called a treasure of military knowledge. He always had with him a copy of it which had been corrected for him by Aristotle, and which

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^{*} That is, such a fort of learning as is received by word of mouth, and into which the scholars were initiated by inspection, as into the mysteries. These sciences were called Acroamatics, to distinguish them from the Exoterics. The first were never communicated but to particular persons, who were known to Aristotle to be of a capacity proper to receive them, whereas he taught the others publicly to all who had a mind to hear them. Aul, Gell, lib, xx. cap. 5.

is called the cafket-copy *. Oneficritus † informs us that he laid this with his dagger every night under his pillow. When he was in upper Afia, where he could not be fo eafily supplied with books, he ordered Harpalus to fend him fome, who furnished him with Philifus's history, a great many of the tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Æschylus, and fome dithyrambics composed by Telestes and Philoxenus. For some time he had as great a respect and affection (as he used to say himself) for Aristotle as for his father Philip; for one, he faid, had given him life, and the other had taught him how to live well. But afterwards he had some mistrust of him, though not fo much as to do him any injury; but the kindness he continued to show him not being accompanied with that warmth and tenderness which he had formerly expressed, proved that his affection was abated ‡. However that love of learning which was natural to him, and which his education had increased, never left him, as appears by the respect he showed to Anaxarchus, by the present of fifty talents which he sent to Xenocrates |, and his particular care and efteem for Dandamis and Calanus.

When Philip went on an expedition against the

* It was so called because he kept it in a very rich casket, which he found among the spoils of Darius, as Plutarch mentions afterwards.

† Of Astypalæa, one of the Sporades. He followed Alexander in his expedition into Asia, and wrote an account of it. He was the pilot of Alexander's galley, and would make us believe in his history that he had the command of his fleet. Truth was one of the things least regarded by him in his writings. He endeavoured to imitate Xenophon's style, but he fell far short of his elegance and simplicity.

† The real cause of this coldness was never known. Some have thought it was because Aristotle was more zealous for the interests of Olympias than those of Alexander. Others, because he had recommended Callisthenes the philosopher to that prince's service. For Callisthenes was a person of too blunt a temper, and too much an enemy to flattery, to be long acceptable to a prince who would be thought the son of Jupiter.

If Of these fifty talents Xenocrates took no more than three thoufand drachmas, telling Alexander that he had the most need of the rest, who had so many mouths to feed, and so many men to pay.

Byzantines,

Byzantines, he left Alexander, then fixteen years old, his lieutenant in Macedonia, and intrufted him with the royal fignet. Alexander in his father's absence reduced the rebellious Medarans *, and having taken their chief town by storm, drove out the barbarous inhabitants, and planting a colony of feveral nations in their room, called the place Alexandropolis. At the battle of Cheronea, which his father fought against the Grecians, he is said to have been the first man that charged the facred band of the Thebans. And even in my remembrance there stood an old oak near the river Cephifus, which the country-people called Alexander's oak, because his tent was pitched under it. And not far off are to be feen the graves of the Macedonians who fell in that battle. This early bravery made Philip fo fond of him, that nothing pleafed him more than to hear his fubjects call Alexander their king, and himself their general.

But the disorders of his family, chiefly caused by his marriages and amours, (the whole kingdom in a manner taking part in the quarrels of the women), produced many disputes and dissensions between them, which the ill-nature of Olympias, a woman of a jealous and implacable temper, still increafed by exasperating Alexander against his father. Among other things, this accident contributed greatly to inflame their refentment. At the wedding of Cleopatra, whom Philip married, though the was much too young for him, her uncle Attahis in his cups defired the Macedonians would implore the gods to give them a lawful fuccessor to the kingdom by his niece. This fo incenfed Alexander, that he threw one of the cups at him, crying out, You villain, what am I then a baftard? Philip immediately started up and ran towards his fon with his fword drawn; but by the good fortune of both,

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^{*} The name of Medarans is unknown; some suppose that it ought to be read Mædians, which was the name of a people in Thrace.

his excessive rage, and the wine he had drank, made his foot slip, so that he fell down on the sloor. At which Alexander most reproachfully insulted over him: See there, said he, the man, who was preparing to pass out of Europe into Asia, overturned in passing from one seat to another. Soon after this drunken brawl, he and his mother Olympias went from court; and when he had placed her in Epirus, he

himself retired into Illyricum.

About this time Demaratus the Corinthian, an old friend of the family, who had the liberty of faying any thing among them without offence, came to visit Philip. After the first compliments and embraces were over, Philip asked him, Whether the Grecians lived in amity with one another? It ill becomes you, replied Demaratus, to inquire after the state of Greece, who have involved your own house in so many disfensions and calamities. Philip was so touched by this feafonable reproach, that he immediately fent for his fon home, and at last, by Demaratus's mediation, prevailed with him to return. But this reconciliation lasted not long; for when Pexodorus, governour of Caria, fent Aristocritus to treat of a match between his eldest daughter and Philip's fon Aridæus, hoping by this alliance to fecure his affiftance upon occasion, Alexander's mother and friends took occasion, by idle reports and flanders, to raife a fuspicion in his mind, that Philip intended by means of this fplendid and powerful alliance to make Aridæus his fuccessor in the kingdom. This gave him great uneafiness; he therefore dispatched one Theffalus a player into Caria, to perfuade Pexodorus to think no more of Aridæus, who was both illegitimate and a fool, and rather to accept of him for his fon-in-law. This proposition was much more agreeable to Pexodorus than the former. But Philip, as foon as ever he was made acquainted with this transaction, went directly to his fon's apartment, accompanied only by one of his most inti-

mate friends, Philotas the fon of Parmenio, and there reproved him with great feverity and bitterness; he upbraided him with the meanness and degeneracy of his spirit, and told him that he was unworthy of the crown he was to inherit, fince he could degrade himfelf fo far as to defire the alliance of a Carian, who was at best but the vassal of a barbarous prince. Nor did this fatisfy his resentment; for he wrote to the Corinthians, bidding them fend Theffalus to him in chains, and banished Harpalus, Nearchus, Phrygius, and Ptolemy, his fon's confidents and favourites, whom Alexander afterwards recalled, and raifed to great honour and preferment.

Not long after this, a youth named Pausanias *, having been forcibly abused by the contrivance of Attalus and Cleopatra, and finding he could get no reparation for his difgrace at Philip's hands, watched his opportunity and murdered him. The guilt of this fact was partly charged upon Olympias, who is faid to have encouraged and exasperated the enraged youth to revenge, and partly upon Alexander himself, who when Pausanias came and complained to him of the injury he had received, repeated this. line out of Euripides's Medea +,

The bridal father, bridegroom, and the bride ..

Justin calls him nobilis ex Macedonibus adolescens. He was one of Philip's lifeguard. 'Attalus not only abused him himself, but prostituted him to all his guests at a festival entertainment. Justin ix. 7. † Alexander cited only the two hundred and eighty-eighth verse of

that tragedy,

Τὸν δόνλα, κὸ γήμανλα, κὸ γαμεμένην

which is spoken by Creon to Medea. "I have been informed," says he, " that thy design is to punish the bridegroom, the bride, and the person who gave her;" that is, Jason, Creusa, and Creon. Alexander in the application of this verse gives Pausanias to understand that he ought to wreak his vengeance upon the bridegroom, that is, Philip, upon the bride, that is, his wife Cleopatra, and upon him that gave her, that is, Attalus, who contrived the match between Philip and his niece. X 2

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However, he took care to find out and punish the accomplices of the conspiracy, and was very angry with Olympias for treating Cleopatra with too

great rigour in his absence.

Alexander was but twenty years old when he fucceeded to the kingdom, which was exposed on all fides to envy, hatred, and danger, the barbarous nations that bordered on Macedonia, being impatient of being governed by any but their own native princes; and though Philip had been victorious over the Grecians, yet as he had not time to fubdue their spirits and inure them to the yoke, he had only diffurbed and unfettled the state of affairs, which were left in great uncertainty and confusion, because custom had not yet rendered the change familiar and easy. The Macedonians therefore, thinking the fituation of the kingdom critical and dangerous, advised Alexander to abandon all defigns of fubduing Greece, and to endeavour to reduce the neighbouring nations by gentle means, and prevent innovations in their very beginning. But he rejected this counfel as weak and timorous, and rather chose to secure himself by resolution and magnanimity, than by feeming to fland in fear of any, to encourage all to trample on him. In confequence of this determination, he disappointed the hostile designs of the Barbarians by making a sudden incursion into their country, as far as the river Ister, where he gave Syrmus king of the Triballians a confiderable overthrow. And hearing that the Thebans were ready to revolt, and that the Athenians joined with them, he immediately marched through the straits of Thermopylæ, faying, Demosthenes called me a child while I was in Illyricum and the country of the Triballians, and a youth while I was in Thesfaly; I will now show him before the walls of Athens that I am a man.

When he came to Thebes, being willing to accept of their repentance for what was past, he only,

demanded

demanded of them Phoenix and Prothytes the authors of the rebellion, and proclaimed a general' pardon to those who would come over to him. But when the Thebans, on the other fide, not only required Philotas and Antipater to be delivered into their hands, but also publicly invited all who would affert the liberty of Geeece into an affociation with them, he refolved to turn his arms against them. The Thebans indeed defended themselves by their alacrity and courage more than by their strength, being much outnumbered by their enemies. But when the Macedonian garrifon fallied out upon them from the citadel, they were fo encompassed on all sides, that most of them fell inthe battle. The city itself being taken, was facked and razed, on purpose that so severe an example might terrify the rest of Greece into obedience. However, to colour this feverity, he gave out that he was forced to it by the preffing complaints and accusations of his confederates the Phocians and Platæans. So that, except the priefts, those between whom and the Macedonians a right of hofpitality subfifted, the family of the poet Pindar, and those who were known to have opposed the rebellion, all the rest, to the number of thirty thousand, were publicly fold for slaves; and it is computed, that upwards of fix thousand were put to the fword. Among the other calamities that befel this miserable city, it happened that some Thracian foldiers plundered and demolished the house of an illustrious matron named Timoclea; and their captain, after he had ravished her, asked her if she had any money concealed; fhe answered that she had, and bid him follow her into the garden, where fhe showed him a well, into which she told him; upon the taking of the city, the had thrown what the had of most value. The Thracian stooping down to view the place, fite came behind him and pushed him into the well, and then threw great X 3 ftones. shones in upon him, till she had killed him. After which, when the soldiers led her away bound to Alexander, her mien and carriage showed her to be a woman of a noble rank and an elevated mind; for she did not betray the least sign of fear or astonishment. And when the king asked her who she was, I am, said she, the sister of Theagenes, who commanded in the battle of Chæronea, against your father Philip, and sell there for the liberty of Greece. Alexander was so surprised at both her action and her speech, that he gave her and her children full li-

berty to go whither they pleafed.

After this he received the Athenians into favour. although they had showed themselves so much concerned at the calamity of Thebes, that they omitted the celebration of their festivals, and entertained those who escaped with all possible humanity. But whether his fury, like that of lions, was pacified after being so fully glutted with flaughter, or whether after an example of horrid cruelty he had a mind to appear merciful, he not only forgave the Athenians their past offences, but advised them to look to their affairs with caution and vigilance, upon this confideration, that if he should die they were like to be the arbiters of Greece. It is certain, that he often repented of his feverity to the Thebans, and his remorfe had fuch influence on his temper, as to make him afterwards less rigorous to many others. He imputed also the murder of Clitus, which he committed in his wine, and the base desertion of the Macedonians, who refused to follow him against the Indians, (by which his glory was tarnished and his enterprise left imperfect), to the wrath and vengeance of Bacchus, the protector of Thebes. And it was observed, that whatsoever any Theban, who furvived this victory, asked of him, was certainly granted.

Soon after this the Grecians being affembled at the ifthmus of Peloponnesus, declared their resolu-

tion

tion of joining with Alexander in the war against the Persians, and made choice of him for their general. While he staid there, many statesmen and philosophers came from all parts to visit him, and congratulate him upon his election. He expected the fame compliment from Diogenes of Sinope. for he was then at Corinth; but when he found that he took no notice of him, and that he did not fo much as ftir out of the fuburb called Cranium, where he refided, Alexander went thither himfelf to visit him. Diogenes was at that time lying on the ground and basking himself in the sun; but when he faw fo much company near him, he raifed himself a little, and looked upon Alexander, who, after faluting him, asked him whether he wanted any thing; Only, replied he, fland from between me and the fun. Alexander was fo affected at this anfwer, and fo furprifed at the greatness of the man's foul, who had taken so little notice of him, that, as he went away, he told his followers, who were laughing at the moroseness of the philosopher, That if he were not Alexander, he could wish to be Diogenes.

Then he went to Delphi, to confult Apollo concerning the fuccess of the war he had undertaken: and happening to come at a time that was effeemed unlucky, when it was unlawful to give any answers from the oracle, he fent messengers to desire the priestess to do her office; but she refusing to comply, alleging that there was a law to the contrary, he went up himfelf, and drew her by force into the temple, where tired and overcome with ftruggling, My son, faid she, thou art invincible. Alexander hearing this declared he had received fuch an anfwer as he wished for, and that it was needless to confult the god any further. Among other prodigies that preceded the march of his army, the image of Orpheus at Libethra, made of Cypress wood. wood, was feen to sweat very plentifully *. This discouraged many; but Aristander told him, that far from presaging any ill to him, it signified he should perform such important and glorious actions as would make the poets and musicians of future ages labour and sweat to describe and celebrate them.

His army, by the smallest computation, confisted of thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse; and according to the largest account, of thirty-four thousand foot, and four thousand horse. Aristobulus fays, he had not a fund of above feventy talents for their pay, nor more than thirty days provision, if we may believe Duris; and Onesicritus tells us, he was two hundred talents in debt. But though he fet out on this expedition with fuch scanty and inconsiderable supplies, yet he would not embark his army, till he had informed himself particularly what estates his friends had; to some of them therefore he gave lands, to some villages, and to others the annual profit of some town or harbour. Having thus disposed of his whole revenue. Perdiccas asked him what he had left for himself? he replied; My hopes. Let us then, faid Perdiccas, who are to share with you in your dangers, share with you in your hopes also. Perdiccas therefore refused to accept the estate he had assigned to him; and some others of his friends did the same; but to those who willingly received; or defired affiftance of him. he liberally granted it, fo that the greatest part of his patrimony in Macedonia was fpent in those donations.

With this disposition and these vigorous resolutions, he passed the Hellespont. At Troy he facri-

^{*} This was the name of a mountain, and city in the country of the Odrysæ, a people of Thrace. On Mount Helicon in Bæotia there was a cave called the cave of the nymphs of Libethra, upon which Strabe has founded his conjecture, that the Thracians were the people who consecrated all those places to the muses. Orpheus was a native of Libethra.

ficed to Minerva, and honoured the memory of the heroes who were buried there, with folemn funeral libations. He anointed the monument of Achilles, and as the ancient custom was, ran naked about with his friends, and crowned it with garlands, declaring how happy he esteemed him, in having while he lived, so faithful a friend as Patroclus, and when he was dead, so famous a poet as Homer to immortalize his actions. While he was viewing the rest of the antiquities and curiosities of the place, being told he might see Paris's harp, is he pleased, he said, He thought it not worth looking on, but he should be glad to see that of Achilles, with which he had celebrated the glory and renowned actions,

of so many brave men *.

In the mean time Darius's lieutenants had drawn. together a great army, and lay encamped on the banks of the Granicus. This was in a manner the door leading out of Europe into Asia, and Alexander was under a necessity of forcing it open by an engagement with the enemy. The depth of the river, with the unevenness and difficult ascent of the opposite bank, which was to be gained by main. force, was apprehended by fome; and others were fo fuperstitious as to think it an improper time to. engage, because it was unusual for the kings of Macedonia to march with their forces in the month of June. But Alexander broke through thefe fcruples, telling them, they should call it a second May. And when Parmenio advised, him not to attempt any thing that day, because it was late, he told him, That he should affront the Hellespont which he had lately. passed, should be fear the Granicus. He therefore im-

* This alludes to that passage in the ninth book of the Iliad;

Amus'd at ease the godlike man they found,
Pleas'd with the solemn harp's harmonious sound.
With this he sooths his angry soul, and sings
Th' immortal deeds of heroes and of kings.

Pope, Il. ix. 245. &c. mediately

mediately entered the river with thirteen troops of horse, and advanced against whole showers of darts thrown from the other fide, notwithstanding the number of the enemy drawn up to oppose him, the disadvantage of the ground, and the rapidity of the stream; fo that this action seemed to have more of rage and madness in it, than of prudent conduct. However he perfifted obstinately to make good his passage, and at last, with great difficulty, climbing up the banks, which were very flippery by reafon of the mud, he was forced to mingle among the thickest of the enemy, and fight hand to hand for a while, before he could bring his men, who were endeavouring still to pass into any order. The enemy began the attack with loud flouts, and charging his cavalry with theirs, first fought with their javelins, and when they were broken, with their fwords. And notwithstanding many pressed hard on Alexander himself, (who was remarkable by his buckler and his creft, on each fide of which was a very large and beautiful plume of white feathers), yet he escaped unhurt, though his cuirass was pierced by a javelin at the joint. Rhæfaces and Spithridates, two Persian commanders, attacked him at once; but he with great address avoided Spithridates, and struck his javelin with fuch force against Rhæfaces's cuirass that it broke in pieces, upon which he betook himself to his fword. While they were thus engaged, Spithridates watching his opportunity, came up on one fide of him, and raifing himself upon his horse, gave him such a blow with his battle-ax on the helmet, that he cut off the crest of it, with one side of his plume; and the helmet itself could hardly refift the force of the stroke, for the edge of the weapon penetrated fo far as to touch the very hair of his head. But as Spithridates was about to repeat his stroke, Clitus prevented him by running him through the body with his spear. At the same time, Alexander dispatched

patched Rhæsaces with his sword. While the horse were thus dangerously engaged, the Macedonian phalanx paffed the river, and the foot on each fide advanced to fight. But the enemy hardly fuftaining the first onset, soon gave ground and fled, all but the Grecian mercenaries, who, making a stand upon a rifing ground, defired quarter; which. Alexander, guided rather by passion than judgment, refused to grant, and charging them himself first, had his horse (not Bucephalus, but another) killed under him. In this attack upon these experienced and desperate men, he had more of his soldiers killed and wounded than in all the rest of the battle. The Persians lost in the engagement twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse *. On Alexander's side, as Aristobulus says, there were killed no more than thirty-four, nine of which were foot +. To eternize their memory he erected a statue of each of them in brass, of the workmanship of Lysippus ‡. And that the Grecians might participate the fruits of his victory, he shared the booty among them. Particularly to the Athenians he fent three hundred bucklers; and upon all the rest of the spoils he ordered this boasting inscription to be set: Alexander the son of Philip, and all the Grecians, except the Lacedæmonians, won thefe from the Barbarians who inhabit Asia. All the plate and purple garments, and whatever elfe of any value he took from the Persians, except a very small quantity, he fent as a prefent to his mother.

^{*} Some copies read ten thousand foot; and that is the number mentioned by Diodorus; and according to him the number of horse was two thousand, but according to Arrian only one thousand.

⁺ Arrian says, that there were twenty-five of his friends killed, a-

bove fixty of the other cavalry, and thirty of the infantry.

[†] Quintus Curtius tells us, that he paid this honour only to twenty-five of the cavalry, who were in the beginning of the action overapowered by numbers of the enemy. These statues were erected in a town of Macedonia called Dia, from whence Q. Metellus, a long time after, caused them to be removed to Rome.

This battle foon made a great change of affairs to Alexander's advantage. For Sardis itself, the chief feat of the Barbarian power in the maritime provinces, and many other confiderable places, were furrendered to him; only Halicarnaffus and Miletus stood out, which he soon took by force, together with the adjacent territories. After this he was a little unsettled in his opinion how to proceed: fometimes he thought it best to find out Darius as foon as he could, and put all to the hazard of a battle; at other times he looked upon it as a more prudent course, to make an entire conquest of the sea-coast, and not to seek the enemy till he was strengthened by the addition of the wealth and forces of those provinces. While he was thus deliberating what to do, it happened, that a fountain near the city of Xanthus in Lycia, of its own accord swelled over its banks, and threw up a copper-plate upon the shore, on which was engraven in ancient characters, That the time would come when the Persian empire should be destroyed by the Grecians. Encouraged by this accident, he proceeded to reduce all the sea-coast as far as Phænice * and Cilicia. His passage through Pamphylia has been very pompoully described by historians, and reprefented as in the highest degree marvellous and astonishing; as though by some divine power the waves which used to roll in impetuously from the main, and hardly ever leave the beach under the fleep broken cliffs uncovered, retired to afford him a passage +. Menander alludes to this extravagant ftory in these verses of one of his comedies:

Fortune

* Phoenice, as Palmerius has observed, was a territory in Lycia or Pamphylia.

[†] Strabo gives this account of it. "Near the city of Phaselis between Lycia and Pamphylia, there is a passage by the sea-side, through which Alexander marched his army. This passage is very narrow, and lies between the shore and the mountain Climax, which overlooks the Pamphylian sea. It is dry at low water, so that travellers pass through

Fortune to me is strangely kind. The very man I wish to find, As if by magical device, Starts up before me in a trice. Should I defire to crofs the fea, The waves would leave the passage free; Secure I'd march from shore to shore. Could Alexander's self do more?

But Alexander, in his epiftles, mentions no fuch extraordinary event, but fays, that in his march from Phaselis he went through the passage called Climax. At Phaselis he staid some time; and finding the statue of Theodectes, who was a native of that town, and was then dead, erected in the marketplace, after he had supped, and drank plentifully, he went and danced about it, and crowned it with garlands; thus not ungracefully paying honour in his mirth to the memory of his friend, whose conversation he had formerly enjoyed, when he was Aristotle's scholar.

Soon after this he fubdued the Pifidians who made head against him, and conquered the Phrygians, at whose chief city Gordium (which is faid to have been the feat of the ancient Midas) he faw the famous chariot fastened with cords made of the bark of the cornel-tree, and was informed that the inhabitants had a constant tradition, that the empire of the world was referved for him who should untie the knot. Most are of opinion, that Alexander finding that he could not untie it *, because the

through it with fafety; but when the fea is high, it is all covered over. It was then the winter-feafon, and Alexander, who depended much npon his good fortune, was resolved to set out without staying till the floods were abated, so that his men were forced to march up to the middle in water." Strabo, l. xiv. Quintus Curtius has embellished his narration with circumstances partly true and partly miraculous.

* The ancients were very expert in tying knots of fuch a curious contrivance, that it was impossible for one that was not in the fecret to untie them. In the eighth book of the Odyssey, Ulysses, when he would

You, IV.

ends of it were secretly folded up within it, cut it afunder with his sword, so that several ends appeared. But Aristobulus tells us that he very easily undid it, by only pulling the pin out of the beam which fastened the yoke to it, and afterwards drawing out the yoke itself. From hence he advanced into Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, both which countries he soon reduced; and then hearing of the death of Memnon, the best commander Darius had upon the sea-coasts, who, if he had lived, might have put a great stop to the progress of his arms, he was the rather induced to carry the war into the upper

provinces of Asia,

Darius was by this time upon his march from Sufa, firmly confiding, not only in the number of his men, who amounted to fix hundred thousand, but likewise in a dream which the magicians interpreted rather in flattery to him, than with any regard to truth. He dreamed that he saw the Macedonian phalanx all on fire, and Alexander waiting on him clad in the same robe which he used to wear when he was Asgandes * to the late king; after which going into the temple of Belus, he vanished out of his sight. By this dream, in my opinion, the gods designed to show him that the actions of the Macedonians would be very illustrious, and that as he from an Asgandes had arrived at the crown, so Alexander should come to be master of

fecure the presents made him by the Phæacians, in a chest provided for that purpose, and prevent their being stolen at any time whilst he was asseep, corded the chest, and folded the ends of the cords in a most in-

tricate knot which had been taught him by Circe,

The night name is Afandes, according to the Abbé Renaudot. The infinitive fladen figuifies flare, iftanda flator, from whence comes the Greek Aflandes, for it is indifferent how the first syllable is pronounced. Aflandes is the same with what Cicero calls Stator. Litteras a te mibi Stator tuus reddidit Tarsi. "Your courier delivered me your letters at Tarsus." Darius therefore must have been what we call a State messenger: or perhaps the Persians gave that title to a more considerable officer, and it might denote the chief of the couriers, or post-master general,

Afia, and not long furviving his conquests, conclude his life with great glory. Darius's confidence increafed the more, because Alexander spent so much time in Cilicia, which he imputed to his cowardice: but it was fickness that detained him there, which fome fay he contracted by fatiguing himfelf too much, others by bathing in the river Cydnus, whosewaters were exceeding cold. However it happened, none of his physicians would venture to give him any remedies, thinking his cafe desperate, and fearing the cenfure and refentment of the Macedonians, if they should fail in the cure; till Philip the Acarnanian confidering his extreme danger, and confiding in his friendship, resolved to try the utmost efforts of his art, and rather hazard his own credit and life, than fuffer him to perish for want of physic, which he confidently administered to him, encouraging him to take it boldly, if he defired a speedy recovery in order to prosecute the war. At this very time Parmenio wrote to Alexander from the camp, bidding him beware of Philip, he being bribed to kill him by Darius, who had offered him great fums of money, and promifed him his daughter in marriage. When he had perused the letter, he put it under his pillow, without showing it to any of his friends. At the hour appointed, Philip, attended by the other physicians, came into the bedchamber with the potion, he had prepared for the king, who delivered him the letterto read, and at the same time swallowed the potion with great cheerfulness and intrepidity. This was a very fingular and striking scene, Alexander drinking the medicine, and Philip reading the letter at the fame time, each looking earnestly upon the other, but with different fentiments; for Alexander's looks were cheerful and open, expressing his kindness to Philip, and his confidence in him: while the other feemed aftonished at the accusation, and appealed to the gods to witness his innocence, Y 2. fometimes. fometimes lifting up his hands to heaven, and then throwing himself down by the bedside, and befeeching Alexander to lay aside all fear, and rely on his sidelity. The medicine at first wrought so strongly upon him, that it overcame his spirits, and brought him so low that he lost his speech, and falling into a swoon had scarce any sense left; but soon after by Philip's means his health and strength returned, and he showed himself in public to the Macedonians, who were in continual fear and dejection till

they faw him abroad again.

I here was at this time in Darius's army a Macedonian fugitive, named Amyntas *, who was well acquainted with Alexander's temper. This man, when he faw that Darius intended to march through the strait passages in order to meet the enemy, advifed him rather to remain in the open country, as he had fo great an army, and was to engage with one much inferiour in number. Darius told him he was afraid the enemy would endeavour to run away; and fo Alexander would escape out of his hands. That fear, replied Amyntas, is needless; for you may assure your self, that, far from avoiding you, he will make all the speed he can to meet you, and is now on his march towards you. But Amyntas's counsel was to no purpose; for Darius immediately decamping, marched into Cilicia, at the same time that Alexander advanced into Syria to meet him; but miffing one another in the night, they both came back again. Alexander, being highly pleased with the accident, made all the hafte he could to fight in the narrow paffages, while Darius strove to recover his former ground, and draw his army out of fo difadvantageous a place. For now he began to perceive his errour in engaging too far into a country, which by

^{*} This Amyntas was the fon of Antiochus. He retired out of Macedonia, not account of any ill treatment, but merely for fear of the king; for as he hated Alexander, he concluded that he was hated by him.

reason of the sea, the mountains, and the river Finarus, which ran through the midst of it, would necessitate him to divide his forces, render his horse almost unserviceable, and only cover and supply the weakness of the enemy. Fortune having afforded fo favourable a fituation to Alexander, he was careful to improve it to the best advantage. For though much inferior in numbers, he would not fuffer himfelf to be inclosed, but stretched his right wing much further out than the left of the enemy's, and fighting there himself in the very foremost ranks, put the barbarians to flight. In this battle he was wounded in the thigh by Darius; (as Chares fays), with whom be fought hand to hand. Eut in the account which he himself gave Antipater of the battle, though indeed he owns that he was wounded in the thigh with a fword, though not danger. oufly, he takes no notice who it was that wounded. him.

Nothing was wanting to complete this glorious victory, which he had gained at the expense of above an hundred and ten thousand of his enemies lives *, but the taking the person of Darius, who escaped very narrowly by flight, having the start of him by only four or five furlongs. However having taken his chariot and his bow, he returned from purfuing him, and found his own men bufy in pillaging the camp of the barbarians, which was exceedingly rich; though Darius thinking it unfafe to take the field with too much baggage, had left most of it behind at Damascus. But they reserved for Alexander Itimfelf the tent of Darius, which was filled with attendants richly clothed, with costly furniture, and vast quantities of gold and filver. After he had put off his armour, he went to bathe, faying, Let us now cleanse and refresh ourselves after the fatigues of the battle, in Datius's bath. Not fo, replied one of his followers, but in Alexander's rather, for the goods of the vanquist.

Here, when he beheld the bathing vessels, the water-pots, vials, and ointment-boxes all of gold, curiously wrought, and smelt the fragrant odours with which the whole place was exquisitely perfumed, and from thence passed into another lofty and spacious apartment, where the couches, the table, and the entertainment were wonderfully magnificent, he turned to those about him, and said, This,

it feems, it was to be a king.

As he was going to fupper, word was brought him, that Darius's mother and wife, and two unmarried daughters, being taken among the rest of the prisoners, upon the fight of his chariot and bow burst into the most violent lamentation, imagining him to be dead. After a little pause, more pitying their affliction than rejoicing in his own fuccess, he fent Leonatus to them, to let them know Darius was not dead, and that they need not be afraid of Alexander, who made war upon Darius only for dominion; and that they should find themselves as well provided for as ever they were in Darius's most flourishing condition, when his empire was entire. This kind meffage could not but be very welcome to the captive princesses, especially as it was followed by actions no less humane and generous: for he gave them leave to bury whom they pleased of the Persians, and to make use of what garments and furniture they thought fit out of the booty. He diminished nothing of their equipage, or of the respect formerly paid them, and allowed larger penfions for their maintenance, than ever they had before. But the noblest and most royal instance of his generosity was, that he never suffered those illustrious and virtuous prisoners to hear, or even to apprehend and fuspect any thing that was indecent; fo that they feemed lodged in fome temple, or facred retreat of virgins, where they enjoyed an undisturbed privacy, rather than in the

camp of an enemy. Not that he wanted temptation; for Darius's wife was accounted the most beautiful princess then living, as her husband was the tallest and comeliest man of his time; and the daughters were no less beautiful than their parents. But Alexander esteeming it more glorious to govern himself than to conquer his enemies, touched none of them, nor enjoyed any other woman before marriage, except Barfina, Memnon's widow, who was: taken prisoner at Damascus. She was very knowing in the Grecian learning, and of an amiable temper; and her father Artabazus was the fon of the king's daughter. Alexander therefore being urged by Parmenio (as Aristobulus tells us) was defirous to obtain the possession of a woman in whom. beauty was joined with an illustrious descent and an exalted mind. Of the rest of the female captives. though they were tall and beautiful, he took no further notice than to say jocosely, What eye-fores these Persian women are! To the beauty of their perfons he opposed as a counter-charm the beauty of temperance and continence; fo that he viewed them with as little emotion as if they had been lifelefs ftatues. And when Philoxenus, his lieutenant on the fea-coast, wrote to him to know if he would buy two very fine boys, which one Theodorus a Tarentine had to fell, he was fo offended, that he often cried out aloud to his friends, What baseness has Philoxenus even observed in me, that he should presume to make me such a reproachful offer? and immediately wrote him a very sharp letter, commanding him to difmifs Theodorus, and his vile merchandife with difgrace. Nor was he less severe to Agnon, who fent him word he would buy a Corinthian youth celebrated for his beauty named Crobylus, to present him with. And hearing that Damon and Timotheus, two of Parmenio's foldiers, had abused the wives of some strangers who were in his pay, he wrote to Parmenio, charging him strictly,

ly, if he found them guilty, to put them to death, like those noxious animals whom nature has formed to poison and destroy mankind. In the same letter he added, that he had not so much as seen, or desired to see, the wife of Darius, no, nor suffered any body to speak of her beauty before him. He used to say, that sleep, and the act of generation, chiefly made him sensible that he was mortal; because weariness and pleafure both proceeded from the same frailty and imbecillity of human nature.

In his diet he was extremely temperate, as appears among other proofs, by what he faid to Ada *, whom he called his mother, and afterwards created queen of Caria. For when she out of kindness fent him every day many curious dishes, and fweetmeats, and would have furnished him with fuch cooks and makers of pastry as were excellent in their kind; he told her, He wanted none of them, his preceptor Leonidas having already given him the beff, for he taught him by marching before day-light to prepare for his dinner, and by dining moderately to create an appetite for supper. And he added; that Leonidas ufed to open and fearch the furniture of his chamber and his wardrobe, to see if his mother had put there any thing that was nice or superfluous. He was much less addicted to wine than was generally believed. That which gave people occasion to think so of him, was, that when he had nothing elfe to do, he loved to fit long at table, though he discoursed rather than drank, and talked a great while between every glass... For when his affairs called upon him, he would not be detained as other generals often were, either by wine, or fleep, nuptial folemnities, spectacles,

^{*} This princess was the daughter of Hecatomnus king of Caria. After the death of Mausolusher eldest brother, and his confort Artemisia, who died without children, she succeeded in the kingdom with her brother Hidreus, to whom she had teen married. Her husband dying before her, Pexodarus her third brother dethroned her, and after his death his son-in-low Orontobates usurped the crown. But Alexander restored her to the possession of her dominions.

or any other diversion whatsoever: a convincing argument of which is, that in the short time he lived, he accomplished fo many great actions. When he was free from employment, his manner of life was this: As foon as he rose he facrificed to the gods; he then fat down to dinner, and fpent the rest of the day either in hunting, or in disciplining and regulating his foldiers, or in reading. In marches that required no great hafte, he would learn to shoot as he went along, or to mount a chariot and alight from it in full speed. Sometimes, as his journals tell us, he would divert himself with fox-hunting, and fowling; and when he came to the place where he was to lodge, after he had bathed, and was anointed, he would call for his bakers, and chief cooks, to know if they had made the neceffary preparations for supper. He never supped early nor before it was quite dark; and he was extremely careful at meals that no one should be neglected, and that all who fat with him should be ferved alike. His talkative humour, as I mentioned before, made him delight to fit long at table; and then, though otherwise no prince's conversation was ever fo agreeable, and though he was poffessed of all the charms and graces of discourse, he would talk in fo vaunting and oftentatious a firain. and dwell fo much on his military exploits, that he gave his flatterers a great advantage over him, and caused great disgust to the sensible part of the company, who though they disdained to contend with the others in flattery, yet were afraid to praise him less; fo that between the shame and the danger they were greatly at a loss how to conduct themselves. After he rose from table, he used to bathe, and then went to rest; and he would often sleep till noon; and fometimes all day long. He was fo very temperate in his diet, that when any excellent fish or fruits were fent him, he would distribute them among his friends, and hardly referve any for his

own eating. His table however was always magnificent, the expense of it still increasing with his good fortune, till it amounted to ten thousand drachmas a-day, to which sum he limited it; and he would never suffer any one to lay out more than this in an entertainment to which he was invited.

After the battle of Issus, he sent to Damascus to feize upon the money and baggage, the wives and children of the Persians, of which the Thessalian horsemen had the greatest share; for as they had greatly diffinguished themselves by their bravery in the fight, he fent them thither on purpose to make their reward fuitable to their courage: not but that the rest of the army considerably enriched themfelves. This first gave the Macedonians such a tafte of the wealth, women, and manner of living of the Perfians, that they purfued and traced their gold with the eagerness and ardour of hounds upon a fcent. Alexander, before he proceeded any further, thought it necessary to make himself mafter of the lea-coaft. Those who governed in Cyprus, put that island into his possession; and all Phœnicia, except Tyre, was furrendered to him without refistance. During the siege of this city, which with mounts of earth cast up, and battering engines, and two hundred galleys by fea, was carried on for feven months together, he dreamed that he faw Hercules upon the walls, reaching out his hand, and calling to him. And many of the Tyrians in their fleep fancied that Apollo told them he was displeased with their actions, and was about to leave them, and go over to Alexander. Upon which, as if the god were a fugitive taken in the fact, they chained his statue *, and nailed it to the

pedeftal,

Quintus Curtius says they bound the statue of Apollo with a golden chain, and fastened it to the altar of Hercules, to whom the city was dedicated, thinking by his means to hinder the other from deserting them.

pedestal, calling him an Alexandrist. Another time Alexander dreamed that he saw a satyr mocking him at a distance; and when he endeavoured to eatch him, he still escaped from him; till at last after much entreaty, and a long pursuit he suffered him to take hold of him. The soothsayers making two words of Satyros, assured him Tyre was his own*. The inhabitants at this time show the sountain near which Alexander slept, when he fancied the satyr

appeared to him.

While the body of the army lay before Tyre, he made a short excursion against the Arabians, who inhabit Mount Antilibanus. There he hazarded his life, to bring off his master Lysimachus, who would needs go along with him, boafting that he was neither older, nor inferiour in courage to Phæ. nix, Achilles's tutor, whose name he affected to bear. For when quitting their horses, they marched up the hill on foot, the rest of the soldiers outwent them a great deal; for night drawing on, and the enemy being near, Alexander would not leave Lysimachus who was spent and fatigued, but staid behind to encourage and help him; fo that, before he was aware, he found that he was a great way from his army with a flender attendance, and that he must pass the night, which was extremely dark and cold, in a very uncomfortable place. At last feeing a great many scattered fires of the enemy at fome distance, and trusting to his agility of body, and being always used, by showing himself indefatigable in labour, to relieve and support the Macedonians in their diftress, he ran to one of the nearest fires, and with his dagger killing two of the Barbarians that fat by it, fnatched up a lighted brand, and returned with it to his own men, who immediately made a great fire; which fo terrified the enemy, that most of them fled, and those that

^{*} i. e. Dà Tugo, tua erit Tyrus.

affaulted them were foon routed, by which means they lodged fecurely the rest of the night. This

action is related by Chares.

But to return to the fiege, it had this issue, Alexander, that he might refresh his army, haraffed with many former encounters, drew out only a finall party, rather to keep the enemy employed, than with any prospect of much advantage. It happened at this time, that Aristander, after he had facrificed and viewed the entrails, affirmed confidently to those who stood by, that the city would be certainly taken that very month. This prediction was received with great laughter and contempt, that day being the last of the month. But the king taking notice of his perplexity, and always favouring predictions, commanded that they should not reckon that the thirtieth, but the twenty-eighth day of the month, and ordering the trumpets to found, attacked the walls more vigorously than he at first intended, The fury of the assault so inflamed the rest of his forces who were left in the camp, that they could not refrain from advancing to fecond it; and the Tyrians not being able to withstand them, the town was taken that very day. Afterwards while he was employed in the fiege of Gaza the metropolis of Syria, a bird flying over him, let a clod of earth fall upon his shoulder, and then fettling upon one of the battering engines, was fuddenly entangled in the thongs by which the ropes of the machine were turned. This was agreeable to Aristander's prediction, who foretold that Alexander should be wounded in the shoulder, and the city reduced.

From hence he fent great part of the spoils to Olympias, Cleopatra, and the rest of his friends, not omitting his preceptor Leonidas, on whom he bestowed five hundred talents weight of frankincense, and an hundred of myrrh, prompted to it by the remembrance of the hopes which Leonidas

had of him when he was but a child. For Leonidas, it feems, feeing him one day while he was facrificing fill both his hands with frankincenfe, and throw it into the fire, told him, it became him to be more sparing in offerings then, and not to be so profuse till he was master of the countries where those rich gums were produced. Upon this account Alexander wrote him word, that he had sent him a large quantity of myrrh and frankincense, that for the future he might not be so nig-

gardly to the gods.

Among the treasures and other booty taken from Darius, there was a very rich and curious casket, which being prefented to Alexander, he asked those about him what they thought fittest to be laid up in it; and when each had delivered his opinion, he told them he esteemed nothing so worthy to be preserved in it as Homer's Iliad. This story is attested by many credible authors; and if that be true which the inhabitants of Alexandria, relying upon the credit of Heraclides, tell us, Homer was not an idle nor unprofitable companion to him in his expedition. For when he was mafter of Egypt, defigning to fettle a colony of Grecians there, he resolved to build a large and populous city, and give it his own name. After he had meafured and inclosed the ground with the advice of his workmen, he one night in his fleep faw a wonderful vifion: a grey-headed old man, of a venerable aspect, appeared to stand by him, and pronounce these verfes:

High o'er a gulphy, sea the Pharian isle Fronts the deep roar of disemboguing Nile. Pope.

Alexander upon this immediately rose up and went to Pharos, which at that time was an island lying a little above the Canobic mouth of the Nile, though now it is joined to the continent by a causey. As soon as he saw the commodious situation of the place opposite to the island, t being a neck of land Vol. IV.

of a fuitable breadth, having on one fide a great lake, and on the other the fea which there forms a capacious haven, he faid, Homer, befide his other excellencies, was a very good architect; and ordered the plan of a city to be drawn answerable to the place. For want of chalk, the foil being black, they made use of flour, with which they drew a line about the semicircular bay that forms the haven; this was again inclosed by straight lines, and the figure of the city resembled that of a Macedonian cloak. While he was pleafing himfelf with his design, on a sudden an infinite number of great birds of feveral kinds, rifing like a black cloud out of the river and the lake, devoured all the flour that was used in marking out the lines: at which omen Alexander was much troubled, till the augurs encouraged him to proceed, by telling him it was a fign that the city he was about to build, would enjoy fuch plenty of all things, that it would contribute to the nourishment and support of many nations, He therefore commanded the workmen to go on, while he went to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon.

This was a long, laborious, and difficult journey, and dangerous in two respects: first, because of the want of water, on which account the country is quite uninhabited for the space of many days journey; and, fecondly, because of the violence of the fouth-wind, which might rife upon them, while they were travelling through the vast deep sands, as it did formerly upon Cambyses's army, blowing the fand together in heaps, and rolling it in waves upon his men, till fifty thousand were swallowed up and destroyed by it. All these difficulties were weighed and represented to him; but Alexander was not eafily to be diverted from any thing he was bent upon. For fortune having hitherto feconded him in his defigns, made him obstinate in his resolutions; and the greatness of his mind raised a confidence

confidence in him of furmounting almost invincible difficulties; as if it were not enough to be always victorious in the field, unless places, and seasons, and nature herself submitted to him. The relief and affiftance he met with through all the difficulties of his journey, were more generally believed to proceed from the gods, than the oracles he received afterwards; and it may be added, that this relief and affiftance contributed in some measure to procure greater credit to those oracles. For first, the plentiful rains that fell, preferved them from the danger of thirst, and allaying the extreme driness of the fand, not only rendered it moist and firm, but also cleared the air, and made it fitter for refpiration. Besides, when they were out of their way, and were wandering up and down, because the marks which used to direct the guides were difordered and loft, they were fet right again by fome ravens who flew before them in their march, and waited for them when they halted. But the greatest miracle of all was, that if any of the company went aftray in the night, these birds never ceased croaking and making a noise, as Calisthenes informs us, till by that means they had brought them into the right way again. Having passed through the defert, they came to the city, where the high priest welcomed Alexander from his father Ammon: and being asked by him whether any of his father's murderers had escaped punishment, he charged him to speak with more respect, for his father was not mortal. Then Alexander, changing the terms, defired to know of him, if any of those who murdered Philip were yet unpunished? and also, Whether the empire of the world was reserved for him? The god answered, that he should obtain it, and that Philip's death was fully revenged. This gave him fo much fatisfaction, that he made splendid offerings to Jupiter, and gave the priefts very rich prefents. This is what most authors write concerning the oracles; but Alexander, Z 2 in in a letter to his mother, tells her, there were fome fecret answers, which at his return he would communicate to her only. Others say, that the priest, desiring to use a kind and tender expression, and to call Alexander in the Greek tongue Paidion, which signifies my son, mistaking the pronunciation, used the s instead of the n, and said Paidios, or son of Jupiter. Alexander was very well pleased with this mistake; and hence the report arose that the oracle

had called him the fon of Jupiter.

Among the fayings of one Psammon, a philosopher, whom he conversed with in Egypt, he most approved of this, That all men are governed by God, because in every thing that which is chief and commands is divine. But what he pronounced himself upon. this fubject, was more like a philosopher; for he faid, God was the common father of all, but more particularly of good men. To the Barbarians he behaved with great haughtiness, as if he were fully per-fuaded of his divine original; but to the Grecians. more moderately, and with less affectation of divinity; except in his letter to the Athenians concerning Samos, where he tells them they held not that free and splendid city by virtue of his gift, but from the bounty. of him who at that time was called his fovereign and father, meaning Philip. However, afterwards being wounded with an arrow, and feeling much pain, he turned to those about him, and told them, that it was real blood that dropped from him, and not the ichor. the judges deferved to be commenied

Such as th' immortal gods were wont to shed.

Another time when it thundered so much that every body was afraid, and Anaxarchus the sophist asked him, If he who was fupiter's own son could thunder too? Alexander replied laughing, I do not chuse to frighten my friends as you would have me, who despised my table for being surnished with sish, and not with the heads of governours of provinces. For it is certain,

that Anaxarchus seeing a present of small sishes, which the king sent to Hephæstion, expressed himself in that manner, to ridicule those who take great pains, and run desperate hazards in pursuit of such things as are the common objects of admiration, while in reality they have little more pleasure or enjoyment than others *. From what I have said upon this subject, it is apparent, that Alexander was not so arrogantly vain as to think himself really a god, but only used this presence that others

might more readily submit to him.

At his return out of Egypt into Phœnicia, he facrificed and made folemn processions, to which were added choruses of dancing and the representation of tragedies. And these spectacles were remarkable both for the splendour of the furniture and ornaments, and for the zeal and contention of those who exhibited them. For the kings of Cyprus were at the charge of them, in the same manner as those persons are at Athens, who are chosen by lot out of the tribes. And indeed, they strove with wonderful emulation to outvie each other; chiefly Nicocreon king of Salamis, and Paficrates of Soli, who were appointed to procure the most celebrated actors; and Paficrates procured Athenodorus, and Nicocreon Theffalus. Theffalus was most favoured by Alexander, though this did not appear till Athenodorus was declared victor by the plurality of fuffrages. For then, at his going away, he faid that the judges deferved to be commended for what

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^{*} The faying of Anaxarchus does not apppear to so much advantage here as in Diogenes; and the sense Plutarch puts upon it, is forced, and nothing to the purpose. There is one more true, and more natural, of which the judgment is left to the reader. Anaxarchus mortally hated Nicocreon tyrant of Salamis. Alexander having one day invited him to dinner, asked him how he liked his entertainment. "It is most excellent," replied Anaxarchus, "it wants but one dish, and that a delicious one, the head of a tyrant;" meaning Nicocreon. Here the sense is clear. But the philosopher paid dear for it; for after the death of Alexender he was forced by contrary winds upon the coast of Cyprus, where the tyrant seized him, and put him to death.

they had done, but that he would willingly have lost part of his kingdom rather than have feen. Thessalus overcome. However, when he understood that Athenodorus was fined by the Athenians for being absent from the sestival celebrated in honour of Bacchus, though he resuled his request of writing in his behalf, yet he paid the fine for him. Another time Lycon of Scarphia happened to act with great applause in the theatre, and inserted a verse in his part, by which he begged ten talents of Alexander; who laughed, and gave him the money.

About this time Darius fent a letter and some of his friends to him, befeeching him to accept of ten thousand talents as a ransom for the captives, and. offering him one of his daughters in marriage, with a cession of all the countries on this side the Euphrates *, on condition he would enter into a treaty of friendship and alliance with him. He communicated these propositions to his friends; and when Parmenio said, If I were Alexander, I would accept them; fo would I, faid the king, if I were Parmenio +. His answer to Darius was, that if he would yield himself up into his power, be would treat him with all imaginable kindness; if not, he was resolved immediately to advance towards bim. But the death of Darius's wife who died in childbed, made him foon after repent of this refolution; and it appeared that he was deeply concerned at being deprived of fuch an opportunity of exercifing his generofity and humanity. He buried her, however, with all possible magnificence, and they read here sear

Among the eunuchs who waited in the queen's chamber, and were taken prisoners with the women, there was one Tyreus, who getting out of

* Instead of the Euphrates, Diodorus says the Halys.

⁺ Longinus endeavouring in his seventh chapter to prove that it is peculiar to great men to let fall even in their familiar discourse things great and extraordinary, quotes this answer of Alexander to Parmenio. It must be allowed, says he, that none but Alexander could return such an answer.

the camp, fled away on horseback to Darius, to inform him of his wife's death; which as foon as he heard, he could not forbear beating his head, and burfting into tears with lamentable outcries : Alas, faid he, how great is the calamity of the Persians I was it not enough that their king's confort and fifter was a prifoner in her lifetime, but she must, now she is dead also, be deprived of the royal obsequies? The eunuch replied, As to her obsequies, or any other marks of honour and distinction due to a person of her birth and dignity, you have no reason to accuse the ill fortune of your country; for to my knowledge neither your Queen Statira when alive, nor your mother, non children, have wanted any thing of what they enjoyed in their former happy condition, except the light of your countenance, which I doubt not but. the mighty Oromasdes * will yet restore with greater fplendour and glory than ever neither at her death has any thing been omitted, that could render her obsequies folemn and illustrious; but, on the contrary, they have been bonoured with the tears of your very enemies; for Alexander is as merciful after victory, as he is terrible in the field. At the hearing of these words, such was the grief and emotion of Darius's mind, that he could not help entertaining fome abfurd fuspicions. Wherefore taking Tyreus afide into a more private apartment in his tent : Unless thou likewise, said he to him, hast deserted me together with the good fortune of Persia, and art become a Macedonian in thy heart; if thou yet bearest me any respect, and ownest me for thy sovereign, tell mes I charge thee, by the veneration thou payeft to the light of Mithras, and this right hand of thy king; Do I not lament the least of Statira's misfortunes? Have I not suffered something more injurious and deplorable in ber lifetime? And had I not been miserable with less dishonour, if I had met with a more cruel and inhuman enemy?

^{*} Thus the Persians called that god whom they took to be the good principle; and the author of evil they called Arimanius. The first was according to them the offspring of the purest light, and the other of darkness.

For how is it possible a young man as he is, should treat the wife of Darius with so much generosity, without passing the bounds of a virtuous conversation? Whilft he. was yet speaking, Tyreus threw himself at his feet, and befought him neither to wrong Alexander fo much, nor his dead wife and fifter, nor to deprive himself of the. only consolation he was capable of in his adversity, the firm belief that he was overcome by a man, whose virtues raised him far above the rank of human nature; adding, that he ought to look upon Alexander with love and admiration, who had given no less proofs of his continence towards the Persian women, than of his valour against the men. The eunuch confirmed all he said with dreadful oaths and imprecations, and further enlarged in the description of Alexander's moderation and magnanimity upon other occasions. Darius then returned into the next room, where before all his courtiers he lifted up his hands to heaven, and uttered this prayer: Ye gods, who prefide over the birth of men and the fate of kingdoms; grant above all things that I may restore the fortune of Perfin, and leave it in as flourishing a condition as I found it, and that by obtaining the victory, I may have it in my power to make some grateful returns to Alexander, for the kindness which in my adversity he has showed to those who are dearest to me. But if indeed the fatal time be come, which is to put a period to the Persian monarchy; if our ruin be a debt that must be inevitably paid to the divine vengeance, and the vicifitude of things; then I befeech you grant, that no other man but Alexander may fit upon the throne of Cyrus *. These events and circumstances are attested by most writers.

After Alexander had reduced all Asia on this side the Euphrates, he advanced toward Darius, who

ace forme and including following many

The Persians always called their throne the throne of Cyrus, as well on account of the excellent qualities of that prince, as because he was looked upon as the founder of that empire, which he had so vastly enlarged by his conquests; for which reason Horace says,

was coming down against him with a million of men. In his march a very ridiculous accident happened. The fervants who followed the camp, in fport divided themselves into two parties, and named the commander of one of them Alexander, and of the other Darius. At first they only pelted one another with clods of earth, afterwards they fell to fifty-cuffs, and at last growing warm in the contention, they fought in good earnest with stones and clubs, and could not eafily be parted, till. Alexander (who had been informed of the dispute) ordered the two captains to decide the quarrel by fingle combat, and armed him who bore his name himself, while Philotas did the same to the other who represented Darius. The whole army were spectators of this encounter, with minds prepared from the event to make a judgment of their own future fuccels. After the combatants had fought resolutely for some time, he who was called Alexander had the better, and for a reward of his prowefs had twelve villages given him, with leave to clothe himself after the Persian mode. Of this incident we are informed by Eratosthenes.

The great battle that was fought with Darius, was not, as most writers tell us, at Arbela*, but at Gaugamela, which in their language signifies the camel's house; for one of their ancient kings, having escaped the pursuit of his enemies on a dromedary, in gratitude to the beast, settled him at this place, with an allowance of certain villages and rents for his maintenance. In the month Boedromion, Sep-

tember].

^{*} In the plains of Aturia near Arbela, is the village of Gaugamela, where Darius lost his empire. Gaugamela properly signifies the camel's bouse, and was so called by Darius the son of Hystaspes, when he assigned it over as a maintenance for the camel who had suffered much with him in crossing the desert of Scythia. But the Macedonians observing it to be a poor insignificant place, and that a considerable town stood near it called Arbela from Arbelus the son of Athmonæus, who was the sounder of it, they chose rather to distinguish the battle and victory by that name. Strab, lib, xv.

tember], about the beginning of the festival of the mysteries at Athens, there happened an eclipse of the moon; and the eleventh night after that, the two armies being then in view of one another, Darius kept his men in arms, and by torch-light took a general review of them. But Alexander, while his foldiers flept, spent the night before his tent with his foothfayer Aristander, performing certain fecret ceremonies, and facrificing to Fear *. In the mean while the eldest of his commanders, and chiefly Parmenio, when they beheld all the plain between the river Niphates, and the Gordyæan mountains, shining with the lights and fires which were made by the Barbarians, and heard the rude and confused voices out of their camp, the terrour and noise of which resembled the roaring of some vast ocean, they were so amazed, at the thoughts of fuch a multitude, that, after some conference among themselves, they concluded it an enterprise too difficult and hazardous for them to engage fo numerous an enemy in the day-time; and therefore meeting the king as he came from facrificing, they befought him to attack Darius by night, that the darkness might conceal the horrour and danger of the enfuing battle. To this he gave them that celebrated answer, That he would not steal a victory; which though some may think childish and vain, as

^{*} Thus it ought to be read, $\Phi \circ \beta \omega$, to Fear, and not $\Phi \circ i \beta \omega$, to Apollo, or the sun. Alexander sacrificed thus to Fear, that she might prevent his troops from being terrified at the sight of such a formidable army, consisting of eight hundred thousand foot, and two hundred thousand horse; for which reason Plutarch says he performed certain secret ceremonies. Fear was not without her altars; Theseus himself sacrificed to her, as we have seen in his life, vol. 1. p. 92. And Plutarch tells us in the life of Agis and Cleomenes, that a chapel was built to Fear at Sparta, and that the Lacedæmonians honoured her not as one of those dæmons that are abhoried, and detested, nor as an evil pernicious being; but on the contrary they were persuaded that Fear was the bond of all good governments, that where there is fear, there likewise is modesty, and that valour proceeds from the fear of shame and reproach. From hence we may gather the reasons which induced the most valiant to sacrifice to Fear.

if he played with danger, yet others look upon it as an evidence that he confided in his present condition *, and made a true judgment of the future, in not leaving Darius, in case he were worsted, so much as a pretence of trying his fortune any more: which he would certainly do, if he could impute his overthrow to the disadvantage of the night, as he did before to the mountains, the narrow paffages, and the fea. For it was not to be imagined. that he, who had still fuch forces and large dominions left, should give over the war for want of men or arms, till he had first lost all courage and hope, by the conviction of an undeniable and manifest defeat. After they were gone, he laid himfelf down in his tent, and flept the rest of the night more foundly than usual, to the astonishent of the commanders, who came to him early in the morning, and were obliged themselves to give order that the foldiers should take a repast. But at last, there not being time to wait any longer, Parmenio went to his bedfide, and called him twice or thrice by his name till he awaked him, and then asked him. How it was possible, when he was to fight the most important battle of all, he could sleep so securely, as if he were already victorious. So I am, faid Alexander Imiling, since I am now no more put to the trouble of wandering about in pursuit of Darius, as long as he pleases'to decline fighting, in a country of so large extent, and so wasted. And not only before the engagement, but likewise in the extremest danger of it, he showed the greatness of his courage, and the folidity of his judgment. For the left wing which Parmenio commanded was so violently charged by the Bactrian horse, that it was disordered, and forced to give ground, at the fame time that Mazzeus had fent a

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^{*} They judged rightly, and the reflection with which they backed their judgment was very true. Alexander's answer on this occasion is not only a great token of his confidence and magnanimity, but of his forelight and penetration.

party round about to fall upon those who guarded the baggage; both which fo terrified Parmenio, that he fent messengers to acquaint Alexander, that the camp and baggage would be all loft, unless he immediately relieved the rear, by a confiderable reinforcement drawn out of the front. This meffage being brought him just as he had given the fignal to the right wing to charge, he bade the meffengers tell Parmenio, That he was certainly mad, and that the consternation he was in had made him forget, that if they conquered they would be masters of their enemies baggage; and that if they were defeated, instead of taking care of their wealth or flaves, they had nothing more to do, but to fight bravely and die with honour. When he had faid this, he put on his helmet, having put on the rest of his armour before he came out of his tent, a short coat of the Sicilian fashion, girt close about him, and over that a breastplate of linen strongly quilted, which was taken among other booty at the battle of Iffus. The helmet which was made by Theophilus, though of iron, was fo well wrought and polished, that it was as bright as the finest filver. To this was fitted a gorget of the fame metal, fet with precious stones. His sword, which was the weapon he generally used in battle, was given him by the king of the Citieans, and was of an admirable temper and lightness. But the belt which he wore also in all engagements, was of much richer workmanship than the rest of his armour; it was made by old Helicon, and prefented him by the Rhodians, as a mark of their respect to him. Whenever he drew up his men, or rode about to give orders, or to instruct or review them, he favoured Bucephalus by reason of his age, and made use of another horse; but when he was to fight, he fent for him, and as foon as he was mounted, the fignal to begin the fight was immediately given. After he had made a long oration to the Theffalians, and the rest of the Grecians, who encouraged him with

with loud shouts, defiring to be led on to the charge. he shifted his javelin into his left hand, and with his right lifted up towards heaven, befought the gods (as Callifthenes writes), that if he was indeed the fon of Jupiter, they would be pleased to assist and strengthen the Grecians. At the same time Aristander the diviner, who had a white mantle about him, and a crown of gold on his head, rode by and showed them an eagle flying over the head of Alexander, and directing his course towards the enemy. fo animated the beholders, that, after mutual encouragements and exhortations, the borfe charged at full speed, and the phalanx rushed on like a torrent. But before they could well come to blows with the first ranks, the Barbarians shrunk back, and were closely purfued by Alexander, who drove them before him into the middle of the battle. where Darius himself was in person, whom he saw over the foremost ranks, conspicuous in the midst of his lifeguard; for he was a tall and comely man, and drawn in a lofty chariot, defended by a great number of the best of his cavalry, who stood close in order about it, ready to receive the enemy. But Alexander's approach was fo terrible, forcing those who gave back upon fuch as ftill maintained their ground, that they were thrown into the utmost consternation, and soon put to flight. A few of the bravest and most resolute among them maintained their post, till they were all flain in their king's prefence, and falling in heaps upon one another. strove in the very pangs of death to stop the purfuit, by clinging to the Macedonians as they fell, and catching hold of and entangling the feet of the horses when they were fallen. Darius had now nothing but terrour and destruction before his eyes. Those who had placed themselves in the front, to defend him, were broken, and forced back upon him. The wheels of his chariot were clogged, and entangled with the dead bodies, VOL. IV. Aa which

which lay in such heaps about them, that they not only stopped, but almost covered the horses, who began to fret and bound, and at last grew so unruly, that the charioteer could govern them no longer. In this extremity he was glad to quit his chariot and his arms, and mounting, as they fay, upon a mare that had newly foaled, betook himfelf to flight. But he would not even then have escaped, if Parmenio had not fent fresh messengers to Alexander, to desire him to return, and affist him against a considerable body of the enemy which yet stood together, and would not give ground. Indeed Parmenio was on all hands accused of sloth and inactivity; whether age had impaired his courage, or whether, as Callifthenes fays, he envied and repined at his mafter's growing greatness. Alexander, though he was not a little vexed to be fo recalled, and hindered from pursuing his victory, yet concealed the true reason from his men; and causing a retreat to be sounded, as if it were too late to continue the flaughter any longer, he marched back towards the place of danger, and by the way was informed that the enemies were totally routed and put to flight.

This battle being thus ended, feemed to put a period to the Perfian empire; and Alexander, who was now proclaimed king of Afia, returned thanks to the gods in magnificent facrifices, and rewarded his friends and followers with money, houses, and governments of provinces. To ingratiate himfelf with the Grecians, he wrote to them, that he would have all tyrannies abolished, that they might govern themselves by their own laws; and he in particular told the Platzans, that their city should be rebuilt, because their ancestors permitted the Grecians to make their territories the feat of the war, when they fought with the Barbarians for their common liberty. He fent also part of the spoils into Italy, to the Crotoniates, to honour the zeal and courage of of their citizen Phaylus the wrestler *, who in the Median war, when the other Grecian colonies in Italy gave Greece for lost, and refused to assist her, that he might have a share in the danger, joined the fleet at Salamin with a vessel equipped at his own charge. Such a regard had Alexander to every kind of virtue, and so desirous was he to pre-

ferve the memory of laudable actions.

From hence he marched through the province of Babylon, which without refistance entirely fubmitted to him. In the country about Ecbatana, he was much furprifed to fee fire continually burfting like a fpring out of a cleft of the earth; and not far from that a stream of naphtha, so copious as to fpread into a large lake. This naphtha, in other refpects refembling bitumen, is fo inflammable, that before it touches the flame, it will take fire at the very light of it, and often kindle the intermediate air. The Barbarians, to show the power and nature of it, sprinkled the street that led to the king's lodgings with little drops of this liquor, and when it was almost night, stood at the further end with torches, which they applied to the moistened places: and these first taking fire, in a moment it caught from one end to another, in fuch a manner, that the whole street was one continued flame. Alexander had at that time in his fervice a certain Athenian named Athenophanes. He was one of those whose business it was to wait on the king, and anoint him when he bathed, and had a peculiar art of diverting him, and relaxing his mind after he had been employed in serious affairs. One day, whilft the king was bathing, there came into the room a boy called Stephanus, who was very homely,

^{*} Herodotus has given us a fuccinct account of this piece of history lib. viii. 47. " Of all those who dwelt on the other side, the Crotoniates were the only people who came to the succour of Greece on board a ship commanded by Phaylus, who had been three times crowned in the Pythian games."

but an excellent finger. Athenophanes feeing him. faid to the king, Sir, permit us to make an experiment of the naphtha upon this youth: for if it takes fire upon his body, I shall allow it to be powerful indeed. The youth readily confented to undergo the trial; but as foon as he was anointed with it, his whole body broke out into fuch a flame, that Alexander was exceedingly perplexed and concerned for him; and nothing could have prevented his being confumed by it, if there had not been people at hand with a great many veffels of water for the fervice of the bath, with all which they were hardly able to extinguish the fire; and his body was fo fcorched with it that he long felt the bad effects of it. Those therefore who endeavour to reconcile the fable with truth, fay with great probability, that this was the drug mentioned by the poets, with which Medea anointed the crown and veil which she gave to Creon's daughter. For the things could not take fire of themselves, but upon the approach of fome flame, imperceptibly attracted and caught it. For the rays and emanations of fire at a distance, have no other effect upon some bodies, than merely to give them light and heat; but in others which are dry and porous, or in which there is an oily moisture, they collect themselves and foon prey upon and alter the matter. generation or production of this naphtha is a point that has not yet been agreed upon, it being a question, whether it does not rather derive its inflammable quality from the unctuous and fulphureous nature of the foil which produces it *. For the ground in the province of Babylon is fo very hot, that oftentimes the grains of barley leap up, and are thrown out, as if the violent inflamation had given a pulfation to the earth. And in extreme heats, the inhabitants commonly fleep upon skins filled

^{*} There is fomething wanting in the original in this place.

with water. Harpalus, who was left governour of this country, and was defirous to adorn the palace, gardens, and walks, with Grecian plants, succeeded in the raising of all but ivy, which the earth would not bear, but constantly killed: for being a plant that loves a cold soil, the temper of that mold, which was violently hot, was improper for it. Such digressions as these the nicest readers may endure, provided they are not too tedious.

At the taking of Sufa, Alexander found in the palace forty thousand talents * in money ready coined, besides an unspeakable quantity of other treasure and furniture; amongst which was five thousand talents worth of Hermionic purple, that had been laid up there an hundred and ninety years, and yet kept its colour as fresh and lively as at first. The reason of which, they say, is, that they used honey in dying the purple, and white oil in the white tincture; and we are told that fome of this is to be seen of the same age which still preserves its original beauty and lustre. Dinon also relates, that among other things it was a custom with the kings of Persia to have water brought them from the Nile and the Danube, and laid up in the treafury, as a proof of their extensive power and univerfal empire.

The entrance into Persia being very difficult, by reason of the unevenness of the ways, and because Darius, who was retired thither, had ordered the passes to be guarded by the best of his forces, Alexander met with such a guide as the Pythian priestess had prophesied of when he was a child, saying, That a Lycian should conduct him in his journey into Persia; for by such an one, whose father was a Lycian, and his mother a Persian, and who spoke both languages, he was led into the country by a way something about, yet without fetching any

Quintus Curtius says fifty thousand.

confiderable compass. Here a great many of the prisoners were put to the sword; of which he himself gives this account, that he commanded them to be killed, because he thought it would be advantageous to his affairs. Nor was his booty in money less here than at Susa; besides which he found in other moveables and treasure, as much as ten thousand pair of mules and five thousand camels could

well carry away *.

In the palace, Alexander faw a large statue of Xerxes, which the foldiers, as they were preffing in, had thrown on the ground. At the fight of it he stood still, and addressing himself to it as if it was alive, Tell me, faid he, shall I pass on, and leave thee prostrate as thou art on the ground, because thou invadedst Greece, or shall I erect thee again in consideration of the greatness of thy mind and thy other virtues? At last, after he had paused a considerable time, he went on, without taking any further notice of it. In this place he took up his winter-quarters, and Raid four months to refresh his soldiers. It is said. that the first time he fat on the royal throne of Perfia under a canopy of gold, Demaratus the Corinthian, who had a great affection for Alexander, and had been one of his father's friends, wept, like an old man, and deplored the misfortune of those Grecians who had fallen in the wars, and been deprived by death of the satisfaction of seeing Alexander placed on the throne of Darius.

Before he set out from hence to march against Darius, he gave an entertainment to his friends, where he indulged in drinking and mirth, and even suffered every one's mistress to share in the entertainment. The most celebrated of them was Thais an Athenian, mistress to Ptolemy who was afterwards king of Egypt. She sometimes cunningly praised Alexander, and sometimes jested with him, and all the while drank so freely, that at last she

^{*} Diodorus fays three thousand,

began to talk extravagantly, and faid things which, though fuitable to the country where she was born, were much above her character and condition, She faid, she was abundantly rewarded for the pains she had taken in travelling all over Asia, since that day she could insult over the stately palace of the Persian. monarchs: but she added, it would please her much better, if, while the king looked on, she might in sport, with her own hands, fet fire to Xerxes's court, who reduced the city of Athens to ashes; that it might be recorded to posterity, that the women who followed Alexander had taken a sharper revenge on the Persians, for the sufferings and affronts of Greece, than all her commanders had done in their several engagements by sea and land. What she said was received with such universal approbation and loud applause, and so seconded by the zeal and eagerness of the company, that the king himfelf, being prevailed upon, started from his feat, and with a chaplet of flowers on his head, and a lighted torch in his hand, led the way, while they, following in a riotous manner with dancing and shouting, surrounded the palace. When the rest of the Macedonians perceived what they were about, they also joyfully ran thither with their torches; for they hoped the burning and deftruction of the royal palace was an argument that he looked homeward, and had no defign to refide among the Barbarians. Thus fome writers relate this action; others fay it was done deliberately: however, all agree that he foon repented of it, and gave orders to have the fire extinguished.

Alexander was naturally very munificent, and grew more so as his fortune increased; and his liberality was accompanied with that courtesy and kindness which is absolutely necessary to make a benefit really obliging. I will mention a few instances of this kind. Aristo, the captain of the Pæonians, having killed an enemy, brought his head to him, and told him, That among them such a pre-

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fent was recompensed with a cup of gold. With an empty one, faid Alexander smiling, but I drink to you in this full of wine, and give it you. Another time, as one of the common folders was driving a mule laden with fome of the king's treafure, the beaft tired, fo that he was forced to take it on his own back, and with much ado marched with it a good way, till Alexander feeing him fo overcharged, asked what was the matter; and when he was informed, just as the man was ready to lay down his burden for weariness, Do not faint now, said he to him, but keep on the rest of thy way, and carry what thou haft on thy back to thy own tent for thy own use. He was always more displeased with those who would not accept of his presents, than with those who begged them of him. And therefore he wrote to Phocion. That he would not look upon him as his friend any longer, if he refused to accept of what he had fent him. Nor would he ever give any thing to Serapion, one of the youths that used to play at ball with him, because he did not ask of him; till, one day as they were playing, Serapion continually threw the ball to others, and when the king asked him, Why he did not direct it to him? he answered, Because you did not ask it; the king laughed at the reply, and was very liberal to him afterwards. One Proteas, a pleafant facetious man and a good table-companion, having incurred his displeasure, desired his friends to intercede for him, and begged pardon himself with tears; upon which Alexander declared he was reconciled to him. I cannot believe it, Sir, said Proteas, unless you first give me some pledge of your reconciliation. The king prefently ordered him five talents. How generous he was in enriching his friends, and those who attended on his person *, appears by a letter which Olympias

^{*} He means fifty young gentlemen brought to him by Amyntas.

They were the fons of the greatest men in Macedonia. Their office

lympias wrote to him, where she fays, I do not blams you for rewarding your friends and displaying your munificence; but you make them all equal to kings, you give them power and opportunity to improve their own interest. and make many friends, and in the mean time do not consider, that you leave yourself bare and destitute. She often wrote to him to this purpose, and he never communicated her letters to any body, unless it were one which he opened when Hephæstion was by, whom he permitted to read it along with him; but then, as foon as he had done, he took off his ring, and put the feal upon Hephæstion's lips, thereby recommending fecrecy to him. Mazeus, who was the most considerable man in Darius's court, had a fon who was already governour of a province; Alexander offered to join another to it, which was more profitable; but he modeftly refused it, and withat told him, that instead of one Darius, he would make many Alexanders. To Parmenio he gave Bagoas's house, in which he found a wardrobe of apparel worth more than a thousand talents. He wrote to Antipater, commanding him to keep a lifeguard about him, for the fecurity of his person against conspiracies. To his mother he sent many prefents, but would never fuffer her to meddle with affairs of flate or war; and when she was displeased with him upon this account, he bore her ill humour very patiently. And once, when he had read a long letter from Antipater, full of accusations against her, he said, Antipater seems not to know that one tear of a mother effaces a thousand such letters as thefe.

But when he perceived his favourites grow followurious and extravagant in their way of living, that Agnon the Teian wore filver nails in his shoes; that Leonatus employed several camels only to bring

was to wait on him at table, lead his hor'es to him when he went to fight, attend him when he hunted, and keep guard day and night at his chamber-door.

Blud

him powder out of Egypt to use when he wrestled; and that Philotas had toils to take wild beafts, that reached an hundred furlongs in length; that more used precious ointments than plain oil when they went to bathe, and that they had fervants every where with them, to rub them and wait upon them in their chambers; he reproved them like a philofopher with great mildness and discretion, telling them, He wondered that they who had been engaged in fo many signal battles, should not know by experience, that labour and industry made people sleep more sweetly and foundly than laziness; and that if they compared the Persian manner of living with their own, they would be convinced it was the most abject, slavish condition in the world to be effeminate and voluptuous, and that nothing was more noble and princely than labour. He asked them besides, How it was possible for any one either to take care of his horse, or to keep his armour bright and in good order, who thought much to let his hands be ferviceable to what was dearest to him, his own body? Are you fill to learn, faid he, that the end and perfection of our victories is to avoid the vices and infirmities of those whom we have subdued? And to strengthen his precepts by example, he exposed himself now more than ever to the fatigues of hunting and war, readily embracing all opportunities of hardship and danger; infomuch that a Spartan ambaffador, who one day chanced to be by when he encountered and mastered a huge lion, said, Royalty, Sir, has been the prize, and you have fought bravely for it with the lion. Craterus dedicated in the temple of Apollo at Delphi a representation of this adventure in brass; the figures of which it consisted were the lion and the dogs, the king engaged with the lion, and himself coming in to his affistance; some of which were made by Lyfippus, and the rest by Leochares. In this manner did Alexander expose his person to danger, both inuring himself, and inciting

citing others to the performance of brave and vir-

But his followers, who were now become rich and proud, longed to indulge themselves in pleafure and idleness, and grew weary of marching from place to place, and of undergoing the toils of war; nay, they by degrees proceeded fo far as to cenfure and reproach him. This at first he bore very patiently, faying, It became a king to do well, and to be ill spoken of. And indeed his behaviour to his friends even on flight and common occasions was a continual proof of real kindness and respect. Of this I shall mention a few instances. Hearing that Peucestas had been bitten by a bear, he wrote to him, That he took it unkindly, that he should send others notice of it, and not make him acquainted with it; but now, faid he, fince it is so, let me know how you do, and whether any of your companions for fook you when you were in danger, that I may punish them? He sent word to Hephæstion, who was absent about some business, That while they were diverting themselves with hunting an ichneumon *, Craterus was by chance run through both thighs with Perdiccas's javelin. Upon Peucestas's recovery from a fit of fickness, he fent a letter of thanks to his physician Alexippus. When Craterus was ill, he faw a vision in his sleep, after which he offered facrifices for his health, and commanded

^{*} The ichneumon is a small animal, very common in Egypt. It is remarkable for its mortal enmity to the aspic and crocodile, and for the tricks it uses to get the better of two such dangerous enemies. When it has to deal with the aspic, it rolls itself several times together in the mud, and at every turn dries the dirt that sticks round it in the sun; so that when it has armed itself with several crusts, as with so many coats of mail, it attacks the aspic boldly, and slies at its throat. When it is to encounter the crocodile, it watches the moment when a little bird called trockylus enters into the mouth of that animal to cleanse his jaws, and pick his teeth, feeding upon what he finds there at which time the crocodile, who is wonderfully pleased with the operation, falls assep with his mouth wide open, and the ichneumon darts down his throat like an arrow, and gnaws his bowels. Plin. lib. 8. cap. 24, 25.

him to do fo likewife. He wrote also to Pausanias the physician, who was about to purge Craterus with hellebore, partly to express his anxious concern for him, and partly to give him a caution how he used that medicine. He imprisoned Ephialtes and Ciffus, who brought him the first news of Harpalus's flight, and defertion from his fervice, as if they had falfely accused him. When he sent the old and infirm foldiers home, Eurylochus the Ægean got his name inrolled among the fick, though he ailed nothing; which being discovered, he confessed he was in love with a woman named Telesippa, and was defirous to go along with her to the feafide. Alexander inquired, To whom the woman belonged? and being told, She was a courtezan, but of liberal birth: I will affift you, faid he to Eurylochus, all I can in your amour, if your mistress be to be gained either by presents or perfuasions; but we must use no other means, because she is free-born. It is surprising to confider, upon what flight occasions he would write letters to serve his friends. As when he wrote one, in which he gave orders to fearch for a youth that belonged to Seleucus, who was run away into Cilicia. In another, he thanked and commended Peucestas, for apprehending Nicon, a fervant of Craterus. And to Megabyfus, concerning a flave that had taken fanctuary in a temple, he wrote. that he should not meddle with him while he was there; but if he could entice him out by fair means, then he gave him leave to feize him. It is reported of him, that when he first sat in judgment upon capital causes, he would lay his hand upon one of his ears, while the accuser spoke, to keep it free and unprejudiced in behalf of the party accused. But afterwards a multitude of accufations being brought before him, and many of them proving true, this exasperated him so much, that he gave credit to those also that were false; and especially when any one spoke ill of him, he would be so extravagantly

extravagantly transported, that he became cruel and inexorable; for he valued his glory and repu-

tation far beyond either his life or kingdom.

He now marched in pursuit of Darius, expecting to hazard another battle. But hearing that he was taken, and fecured by Bessus, he sent home the Theffalians, and gave them a largefs of two thoufand talents, over and above the pay that was due This long and painful purfuit of Darius (for in eleven days he marched three thousand three hundred furlongs) haraffed his foldiers fo, that most of them were ready to faint, chiefly for want of water. While they were in this diffress, it happened, that fome Macedonians, who had fetched water in skins upon their mules from a river they had found out, came about noon to the place where Alexander was, and feeing him almost choaked with thirst, presently filled an helmet, and offered it to him. He asked them to whom they were carrying the water; they told him to their children; but, faid they, if your live is preserved, it is no matter for our children; if we lose them, we can get more. Then he took the helmet into his hands, and looking round about, when he faw all those who were near him stretching their heads out, and earnestly eying the drink, he returned it again with thanks, without tasting a drop of it: For, said he, if I only should drink, the rest will be quite out of heart and faint. The foldiers no fooner faw his temperance and magnanimity upon this occasion, but they all cried out to him to lead them on boldly, and whipped their horses to make them mend their pace; for whilf they had fuch a king, they faid, they defied both weariness and thirst, and looked upon themselves to be little less than immortal. But though they were all equally cheerful and willing, yet not above fixty horse were able to keep up, and fall in with Alexander upon the enemy's camp; where riding over abundance of gold and filver that lay scattered about, VOL. IV. Bb and

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and passing by a great many chariots full of children and women, that wandered here and there for want of drivers, they endeavoured to overtake the first of those that fled, in hopes to meet with Darius among them. At last with great difficulty they found him lying along in a chariot, all over wounded with darts, and just at the point of death. However, he defired they would give him some drink; and when he had drank a little cold water. he faid to Polystratus who gave it him, My friend, this completes my misery, to receive a favour, and not be able to return it. But Alexander will reward thee; and the gods will reward him for his kindness to my mother, my wife, and my children. Tell him therefore that, in token of my acknowledgment, I give him this right hand: at which words he took hold of Polystratus's hand, and immediately expired. When Alexander came up to them, he was fenfibly touched at the unfortunate end of fo great a man, and pulling off his own coat, threw it upon the body to cover it. As foon as Bessus was taken, he ordered him to be torn in pieces in this manner *. They fastened him to a couple of tall straight trees, which were bent down fo as to meet, and then being let loofe, with a great force returned to their places, each of them carrying that part of the body along with it that was tied to it. Darius's body was fent to his mother with all the pomp fuitable to his quality. Alexander received his brother Oxathres into the number of his most intimate friends.

And now with the flower of his army he marched down into Hyrcania, where he faw a gulf of the fea, not much less than the Euxine, and found its water sweeter than that of other seas; but he could learn nothing of certainty concerning it, only he

conjectured

Quintus Curtius tells us, Alexander delivered the affaffin up to Oxathres the brother of Darius, that when they had cut off his nose and ears, and fastened him to a cross, the Barbarians might kill him with their darts and arrows.

conjectured that it might be produced by the overflowing of the lake Mæotis, or at least might have a communication with it. However the naturalists better informed of the truth, give us this account of it many years before Alexander's expedition; that of four gulfs which out of the main sea enter into the continent, this is the most northern, and is known by the name both of the Hyrcanian and Caspian sea. Here the Barbarians unexpectedly meeting with those who led Bucephalus, took them prisoners, and carried the horse away with them; which Alexander was fo offended at, that he fent an herald to let them know, he would put them all to the fword, men, women, and children, without mercy, if they did not restore him. Upon this they immediately obeyed, and at the fame time furrendered their cities into his hands. He treated them all very kindly, and paid a confiderable ranfom for his horse to those who took him.

From hence he marched into Parthia, where not having much to do, he first put on the barbaric habit; which compliance perhaps he used in order to civilize the inhabitants; for nothing gains more upon men, than a conformity to their fashions and customs; or it may be he did it to try whether the Macedonians would be brought to adore him, (as the Persians did their kings), by accustoming them by little and little to bear with the alteration of his discipline and course of life in other things. However he did not altogether follow the Median fafhion, which was barbarous and uncouth; for he wore neither their breeches, nor their long veft, nor their tiara for the head; but taking a middle way between the Persian mode and the Median, he fo contrived his habit, that it was not fo stately as the one, and yet more magnificent than the other. At first he wore this habit only when he had business to transact with the Barbarians, or within doors among his intimate friends and companions; B b 2

but afterwards he appeared in it abroad, and at purblic audiences. This was a very unpleafing fight to the Macedonians; but they were fo charmed with his other virtues and good qualities, that they could not but think it reasonable in some things to gratify his humour and indulge his vanity. befide his other adventures, he had lately been wounded in the leg by an arrow, which had fo fhattered the bone, that splinters were taken out. And another time he received fuch a violent blow with a stone upon the nape of the neck, as dimmed his fight for a good while afterwards. But all this could not hinder him from exposing himself to the greatest dangers, without any regard to his person: fo that he passed the river Orexartes, which he took to be the Tanais, and putting the Scythians to flight, purfued them an hundred furlongs, though at the fame time he had a violent flux upon him. Here many affirm, that the Amazonian queen came to visit him: so Clitarchus, Polycritus, Onesicritus, Antigenes, and Ister report. But Aristobulus, Chares of Theangela, Ptolemy, Anticlides, Philo the Theban, Philip of Theangela, Hecatæus the Eretrian, Philip the Chalcidian, and Duris the Samian fay, it is wholly a fiction *. And indeed Alexander himself seems to confirm their opinion: for in a letter in which he gaves Antipater an exact account of every event, he tells him that the king of Scythia offered him his daughter in marriage, but makes no mention at all of the Amazon. And many years after, when Oneficritus read this ftory in his fourth book to Lysimachus, who was then king, he with a finile asked, Where was I at that time? But as for this particular, they who believe it will not have a greater veneration for Alexander,

^{*} It is certain that this history of the Amazons is entirely fabulous, of which Strabo was very sensible. The reader may see the remarks upon the life of Theseus, vol. 1, p. 90. 92.

and they who reject it will not esteem him the less.

Apprehending that the Macedonians, grown weary of the war, would not have the courage or patience to accompany him any further in his expedition, he left the grofs of his army behind him in their quarters, and taking with him the choicest of his forces, to the number of twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, he marched with them into Hyrcania, where he told them, That hitherto the Barbarians had seen them only as in a dream; and if they should think of returning when they had only alarmed Asia, and not conquered it, those Barbarians would fall upon them, and destroy them like so many women: that however he gave to fuch as defired it liberty to return; but withal protested against every one who should defert him and his friends, and those who were willing to fight under bim still, while he was bringing the whole world under Subjection to the Macedonianc. This is almost word. for word the same with what he wrote in a letter to. Antipater, where he adds, That when he had thus spoken to them, they all cried out, they would go along with him, where-ever it was his pleasure to lead them. When he had in this manner gained them, it was no hard matter for him to bring over the rest of the army. which readily followed their example. From this time he more and more endeavoured to accommodate himself in his way of living to the customs of the Barbarians, which he likewise endeavoured to blend with the customs of the Macedonians, in hopes that this mixture and communication would. produce a mutual friendship, by which his authority would be better maintained during his absence, than it would be by mere force. In order to this he chose out thirty thousand boys, to whom he. allowed masters to teach them the Greek tongue. and to train them up to arms according to the Macedonian difcipline. As for his marriage with Roxana, that was purely the effect of love. For ha-B b 3

ving accidentally feen her at a feast, he was charmed with her beauty. Nor was his love in the least prejudicial to his interest, considering the situation of his affairs at that time. For his alliance with the Barbarians made them conside in him, and love him more than ever, when they saw how continent he was, and that he abstained from the only woman he ever was in love with, till he could enjoy her in

a lawful and honourable way.

When he perceived that of his two chief friends and favourites, Hephæstion approved of the cuftoms he had newly taken up, and imitated him in his habit, while Craterus continued strict in the obfervation of the customs and fashions of his own country, he employed the first in all transactions with the Barbarians, and the latter when he had to do with the Greeks or Macedonians. And the truth is, he had a greater love for the one, and a higher efteem for the other, being perfuaded, as he always faid, that Hephæstion loved Alexander, and Craterus the king. This occasioned a misunderstanding between them, fo that they often quarrelled; and once in India they drew their fwords, and were going to fight. with their friends on each fide to fecond them, till Alexander came up to them, and publicly reproached Hephæstion, telling him he was a fool and madman, not to be fensible that without his favour he was nothing. He chid Craterus also in private very feverely, and then caufing them both to come into his presence, he reconciled them, at the same time fwearing by Jupiter Ammon, and the rest of the gods, that he loved them above all other men; but that if ever he perceived them fall out again, he would put both of them to death, or at least the aggressor. After which, they neither ever did, or faid any thing, fo much as in jeft, to offend one another.

None had more authority among the Macedonians than Philotas, the fon of Parmenio: for be-

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fides that he was valiant, and indefatigable in war, he was also, next to Alexander himself, the most munificent, and most kind to his friends; one of whom asking him for some money, he commanded his fleward to give it him; and when he told him, he had none, Have you no plate then, faid he, or cloaths of mine? But he was extremely proud and infolent by reason of his wealth, and more delicate and expensive about his person and diet than became a private man; and that air of dignity and grandeur which he affumed, far from being graceful and engaging, appeared awkward and extravagant, and exposed him to general suspicion and ill-will; fo that Parmenio would fometimes fay to him, My fon, be less. He had for a considerable time before been complained of to Alexander: for when Darius was defeated in Cilicia, and an immense booty was taken at Damascus, among the rest of the prisoners who were brought into the camp there was one Antigone of Pydna, a very handsome woman, who fell to Philotas's share. The young man one day in his cups, like an arrogant bragging foldier, told his mistress, That all the great actions were performed by him and his father, and that the stripling Alexander enjoyed. the title of king by their means. She discovered what she had heard to one of her acquaintance, and he, as is ufual in fuch cases, to another, till at last it came to Craterus, who introduced her privately to the king. When Alexander had heard what she had to fay, he commanded her to continue her intrigue with Philotas, and to give him an account from time to time of what he faid. Philotas being thus inadvertently taken in the fnare, fometimes from refentment, and fometimes from vanity, uttered many indifcreet expressions against the king in Antigone's hearing; of which though Alexander was informed, and convinced by ftrong evidence, yet he took no notice of it at first; whether he confided in Parmenio's affection and loyalty, or whether he feared

feared their authority and interest in the army. As bout this time one Limnus *, a Macedonian, a native of Chalæstra, conspired against Alexander's life, and communicated his defign to a youth whom he loved, named Nicomachus, inviting him to be of the confederacy. But he rejected the proposal, and revealed it to his brother Cebalinus, who immediately went to Philotas, requiring him to introduce them both to Alexander +, to whom they had fomething of great moment to impart, and which very nearly concerned him. Philotas, for what reafon is uncertain, refused to introduce them as they had defired, pretending the king was taken up with affairs of more importance. And when they had urged him a fecond time, and were ftill flighted by him, they applied to Metro; by whose means being admitted into Alexander's presence, they first laid open Limnus's conspiracy, and then as by the by represented Philotas's negligence, who had taken so little notice of their repeated folicitations. Alexander was extremely exasperated at this neglect in Philotas; but when he came to understand, that the person who had been sent to apprehend Limnus had killed him t, because he had put himself upon his defence, and chose rather to be flain than taken, he was still more concerned, for he conceived the death of that traitor had deprived him of the means of making a full discovery of the plot. As foon as his displeasure against Philotas began to appear, prefently all his old enemies showed themfelves, and faid openly, The king was too easily imposed on, to imagine, that one so inconsiderable as Limnus

* Diodorus and Quintus Curtius call him Dymnus.

† Other authors say he killed himself. The guards carried him to Alexander's tent, but by that time he was speechless, and expired in

a moment.

[†] Quintus Curtius says that Cebalinus went by himself to Philotas, lest if his brother Nicomachus, who had often received that honour, should be introduced to the king, the conspirators might have taken umbrage at it.

the Chalæstrian, should of himself undertake such an enterprise; that he was but subservient to the design, an instrument that was moved by some greater power; that those ought to be more strictly examined about the conspiracy, whose interest it so much was to conceal it. When the king began to liften to these discourses and sufpicions, they loaded Philotas daily with innumer. able accufations; fo that at last he was seized, and put to the torture in the presence of the principal officers, Alexander himfelf being placed behind the tapestry, to hear what passed. When he heard in what a miferable tone, and with what abject fubmissions Philotas applied himself to Hephæstion, he cried out, Couldst thou, Philotas, effeminate and meanspirited as thou art, couldst thou engage in so bold and bazardous an enterprise? After his death, he presently fent orders into Media, to put Parmenio to death, a man who had a great share in the exploits of Philip, and who was the only one, or at least the chief, among his old friends and counfellors, who had encouraged Alexander to invade Afia. Of three fons whom he had in the army, he had already loft two, and now was himfelf put to death with the third. These actions rendered Alexander formidable to many of his friends, and chiefly to Antipater, who thereupon, to strengthen himself, sent ambassadors privately to the Ætolians, to conclude an alliance with them; for they stood in fear of Alexander, because they had destroyed the city of the Œniades, of which when he was informed, he faid, The children of the Oeniades need not revenge their fathers quarrel, for he would himself take care to punish the Ætolians.

Not long after this happened the death of Clitus, which, to those who barely hear the fact, may seem a proof of greater inhumanity than that of Philotas. But if we reslect on the time, causes, and circumstances of the action, we shall think that it was rather an unfortunate accident than a deliberate crime.

crime, and that the rage and drunkennels of Alexander only furnished an occasion to the evil genius of Clitus to accomplish his destruction. It happened in the following manner. The king had a prefent of Grecian fruit brought him from the seacoast, which was so very fresh and beautiful, that he was furprised at it, and sent for Clitus to show it him, and to give him a share of it. Clitus was then facrificing, but he immediately left off and went to wait on the king, followed by three of the sheep, on whom the drink-offering had been already poured, in order for the facrifice. Alexander being informed of this accident, confulted his two diviners, Aristander and Cleomantis the Spartan. They affuring him that it was an ill omen, he commanded them in all hafte to offer facrifices for Clitus's fafety, he himself having seen three days before a strange vision in his sleep, of Clitus all in mourning, fitting by Parmenio's fons who were all dead. Clitus however staid not to finish his facrifice, but came immediately to fup with the king, who the same day had facrificed to Castor and Pollux. When they had drank pretty hard, one of the company began to fing some verses of one Pranichus, or, as others fay, of Pierion, which were made upon those captains who had been lately worsted by the Barbarians, on purpose to disgrace and turn them to ridicule. This fo offended the grave old men, that they condemned both the author and the finger of the verses, though Alexander and his gay companions were mightily pleafed to hear them, and encouraged the finger to proceed. At last, Clitus, who had drank too much, and who washefides of a froward obstinate temper, was fo provoked that he cried out, It was not well done thus to expose the Macedonians before Barbarians and enemies, since, though it was their unhappiness to be overcome, yet they were much better men than those who laughed at them. To this Alexander replied, That fure Clitus

Clitus spoke so tenderly of cowardice, and called it misfortune only to excuse himself: at which Clitus starting up, This cowardice, as you are pleased to term it, said he to him, saved your life, though you pretend to be sprung from the gods, when you were running away from Spithridates's sword; and it is by the expense of Macedonian blood, and by these wounds, that you are now raised to such an height, as to despise and disown your father Philip, and adopt yourself the son of Jupiter Ammon. Thou villain, faid Alexander, who was now thoroughly exasperated, dost thou think to utter these things every where of me, and stir up the Macedonians to sedition, and not be punished for it? We are sufficiently punished already, answered Clitus, if this be the recompense of our toils, and esteem those happiest, who have not lived to fee their countrymen ignominiously scourged with Median rods, and forced to shew to the Persians to have access to their king. While Clitus talked thus rashly, and the king in the bitterest manner retorted upon him, the old men that were in the company endeavoured all they could to allay the flame. Alexander then turning to Xenodochus the Cardian, and Artemius the Colophonian, asked them, If they were not of opinion, that the rest of the Grecians behaved among the Macedonians, like so many demigods among savages? All this would not filence Clitus; who calling aloud to Alexander, bid him, if he had any thing to fay, to speak out; else why did he invite men who were free-born, and used to speak their minds openly without restraint, to sup with him, and not rather live and converse with Barbarians, and conquered slaves, who would not scruple to adore bis Persian girdle, and white tunic? Alexander not being able to suppress his anger any longer, took one of the apples that lay upon the table, and flung it at him, and then looked about for his fword. But Aristophanes *, one of his lifeguard, had hid that out of the way, and others came about him, and

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^{*} Quintus Curtius and Arrian call him Aristonus,

befought him to restrain his fury, but in vain; for breaking from them, he called out aloud to his guards in the Macedonian language, (which was a signal of some great tumult), and commanded the trumpeter to sound, giving him a blow with his sist for delaying, or rather refusing to obey him; though afterwards the same man was commended for disobeying an order, which would have put the whole army into confusion. Clitus continued still in the same quarrelsome humour, till his friends with much ado forced him out of the room; but he came in again immediately at another door, and insolently sung this passage out of Euripides's Andromache,

Gods! what ill customs are receiv'd in Greece *?

Then Alexander fnatching a spear from one of the foldiers, met Clitus as he'was putting by the curtain that hung before the door, and ran him through the body. He fell immediately, and after a few loud groans expired. In that very instant the king's indignation cooled, and he came perfectly to himself; but when he saw his friends about him all in a profound silence, as seized with horrour at the fact, he pulled the spear out of the dead body, and would have turned it against himself, if the guards had not held his hands, and by force carried him away into his chamber.

He spent all that night and the day following in the bitterest grief, till being quite wasted with weeping and lamenting, he threw himself on the floor, where he lay speechless; only now and then a deep sigh broke from him. His friends appre-

^{*} This is a speech of Peleus to Menelaus, ver. 639. &c. Plutarch mentions only the first line, because in those days Euripides's works were so generally known and remembered, that if one verse only in a speech was repeated, every one knew what followed. The whole passage is a complaint against the injustice of ascribing all the glory of a victory to the general, and defrauding the soldiers who affisted him in obtaining it, of that share of the honour which is their due.

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hending some dangerous consequence of this silence, forcibly entered the room; but he took no notice of what any of them faid to him to comfort him, till Aristander put him in mind of the vision he had feen concerning Clitus, and the prodigy that followed, which showed that the event was predetermined by fate. At this he feemed to moderate his grief. Then they brought to him Callifthenes the philosopher, who was nearly related to Aristotle, and Anaxarchus of Abdera. Callisthenes * gently foothed him, and combated his forrow with tenderness and caution, endeavouring to cure the distemper without putting the patient to pain. But Anaxarchus +, who was always fingular in his method of philosophy, and was thought to flight all his companions, as foon as he came in cried out aloud, Is this Alexander whom the world looks upon with fuch admiration? Behold him extended on the ground, and weeping like an abject flave for fear of the laws ana censures of men, to whom he himself ought to be a law, and the measure of equity; since he conquered for no other end but to make himself lord of all, and not to be a slave to a vain idle opinion. Do not you know, continued he, addressing himself to Alexander, that Jupiter is represented sitting on his throne with Themis on one side, and fustice on the other, intimating thereby that let a sovereign prince do what he will, all his actions are just and lawful? With these and the like arguments Anaxarchus indeed allayed the king's grief, but withal corrupted his manners, rendering him more dissolute and violent than he was before. Nor did

* He was of the city of Olynthus, and had beeen recommended by Aristotle to Alexander. He was not only very learned, but a person of unshaken probity, and a zealous lover of liberty, which made him of a humour not very complaisant, or proper for a court.

† It appears by his discourse to Alexander, that he neither followed Pythagoras, Socrates, nor Aristotle. It is said, that he was scholar to one Diomenes of Smyrna, or Metrodorus, philosophers little known. Others say he studied under Democritus; and indeed it is plain, his sentiments were much the same with those of that philosopher, who held that laws were only human inventions.

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he fail by these means to insimuate himself into his favour, and to make Callisthenes's conversation, which otherwise, because of his austerity, was not very pleasing, extremely uneasy and disagreeable to him.

It is faid that these two philosophers being at an entertainment, where the company discoursed of the feafons of the year, and the temperature of the air, Callifthenes joined with their opinion, who held that the cold was more fevere in those countries than in Greece; this Anaxarchus would by no means allow, but maintained the contrary with great obstinacy. Sure, faid Callisthenes to him, you must confess this country to be colder than Greece, for there you had but one threadbare cloak to keep out the coldest winter, and here you cannot so much as sit at table without three good warm mantles one over another. This piece of raillery exceedingly exasperated Anaxarchus. But Callifthenes was likewise hated by the other fophists and flatterers, who could not endure to fee him fo beloved and followed by the youth for the fake of his eloquence, and no less esteemed by the old men for his virtuous life, his modesty, gravity, and contented disposition; all which confirmed the account he gave of his defign in following Alexander, that it was only to get his countrymen recalled from banishment, and to rebuild and repeople his native city *. Beside the envy which his great reputation raised, he also by his own deportment exposed himself to the censures of his enemies. For when he was invited to entertainments, he would refuse to come; or if he came, by his moroseness and silence he seemed to show a disapprobation of every thing that was faid or done; which made Alexander fay of him,

^{*} He was of Olynthus, which city had been destroyed by Philip. Whether Callishenes obtained his request of Alexander, is uncertain; but the city was rebuilt, and in Cicero's time was very sourishing, as appears by his third oration against Verres.

The fophist's wisdom I despise, Who for himself is never wife *.

Being with many more invited to fup with the king, he was commanded to make an oration, while they were drinking, in praise of the Macedonians; and he did it with such eloquence, that all who heard it exceedingly applauded him, and threw their garlands upon him; only Alexander told him in the words of Euripides,

On noble themes 'tis easy to excel.

Therefore, faid he, if you will show the force of your eloquence, tell my Macedonians their faults, that by hearing them they may learn to be better for the future. Callisthenes presently obeyed him, and retracting all he had said before, inveighed against the Macedonians with great freedom, adding, That Philip thrived, and grew powerful, chiefly by the discord of the Grecians; applying these verses to him,

Where-ever discord and sedition reign, The worst of men the greatest honour gain.

Which fo disobliged the Macedonians, that he was odious to them ever after. And Alexander said, That Callisthenes had not on that occasion so much shown his eloquence, as his malignity and ill-will to the Macedonians. Hermippus affures us, that one Stroibus, a servant whom Callisthenes kept to read to him, told these things afterwards to Aristotle. He adds, that when Callisthenes perceived the king grow

^{*} This is a verse in Euripides, by repeating of which Alexander gave him to understand that his ill humour would one day be fatal to him; and it is no more than Aristotle himself had foretold him; for observing once with what freedom, or rather insolence, he treated the king, he applied to him the following verse out of Homer, spoken by Thetis to Achilles:

Ωχύμος Τά μοι, τέχο, έσσεαι οι αγος εύεις. II. xviii. 95. Short date of life, my son, such words forebode.

more and more averse to him, he repeated this verse of Homer two or three times to him, as he was going away:

Patroclus, far thy better, is no more *.

Not without reason therefore did Aristotle give this character of Callisthenes, That he was indeed an ex. cellent orator, but had no judgment. For though he acted bravely and becoming a philosopher in refusing to worship the king, and in declaring publicly against that which the best and gravest of the Macedonians only repined at in fecret, by which he put a stop to their base adoration, and delivered the Grecians from great infamy, and Alexander himself from still greater; yet he ruined himself by it, because he proceeded with too much roughness, as if he would have forced the king to that which he should have effected by reason and persuasion. Chares of Mitylene writes, that, at a banquet, Alexander after he had drank reached the cup to one of his friends, who receiving it, rose up, and turning towards the hearth +, where stood the altar facred to the domestic deities, he drank, proftrated himself before Alexander; then kiffed him, and afterwards fat down at the I his they all did one after antable with the rest. other, till it came to Callisthenes's turn, who taking the cup, drank it off, (the king, who was engaged in diffourie with Hephæstion, not minding him), and then offered to kifs him. But Demetrius, firnamed Pheido, interposed, saying, Sir, by no means let him kiss you, for he only of us all has refused to adore you; upon which the king declined it; and all that Callifthenes faid, was, Then I go away with a kis

^{*} This is spoken by Achilles to Lycaon in the twenty-first book of the Ihad.

[†] He turned that way because Alexander sat on that side, and to show that he already reckoned that prince among the domestic tutelary deitles.

less than the rest. This began to give the king an aversion to him, which was improved by many concurring circumstances. In the first place, Hephæftion was eafily believed when he declared that he had broke his word with him, having given him his promife to pay the king the same adoration that others did. Befide this, Lyfimachus and Agnon added, that this fophist went about priding himself, as if he stood in the gap against arbitrary power, and that the young men all ran after him, and honoured him as the only man among fo many thoufands, who had the courage to preferve his liberty. Therefore when Hermolaus's conspiracy came to be discovered, the crimes which Callisthenes's enemies laid to his charge were the more easily believed; particularly that when the young man asked him, What he should do to be the most illustrious person. on earth, he told him, The readiest way was to kill him who was so at present; and that to incite him to commit the fact, he bid him, not be awed by the golden canopy, but to remember that Alexander was a man equally infirm and vulnerable with another. However none of Hermolaus's accomplices, in the extremity of their torments, made any mention of Callifthenes's being engaged in the defign. Nay Alexander himself, in the letters which he wrote soon after to Craterus, Attalus, and Alcetas, tells them, that those who were put to the rack, confessed they had entered into the conspiracy wholly of themselves, and that no others were privy to it. But yet afterwards, in a letter to Antipater, he accuses Callifthenes of that crime. The young men, fays he, were Stoned to death by the Macedonians; but for the Sophist, I will take care to punish him, and them too who sent him to me, who barbour those in their cities who conspire againft my life. By which expressions it appears he had no very good opinion of Aristotle, by whom Callifthenes was educated on account of his relation to him, being the fon of his niece Hero. His death C c 3

is variously related: some say he was hanged by A-lexander's command; others, that he died of sickness in prison; but Chares writes, that he was kept in chains seven months after he was apprehended, on purpose that he might be proceeded against in full council, when Aristotle should be present *; and that he died of excessive fat and of the lousy disease, about the time that Alexander was wounded in the country of the Malli Oxydracæ. But

this happened afterwards.

In the mean time Demaratus of Corinth, an old man, was very desirous to travel into Asia to visit Alexander; and when he had seen him, he said, He pitied the missortune of those Grecians who died before they had beheld Alexander seated on the throne of Darius. But he did not long enjoy the effects of the king's bounty; for soon after he fell sick and died. He had a magnificent funeral, and the army raised him a monument of earth eighty cubits high, and of a vast circumference. His ashes were conveyed in a very rich chariot drawn by four horses to the fea-side.

Alexander being now intent upon his expedition into India, took notice, that his foldiers were for charged with booty, that it hindered their marching; to remedy which, at break of day, as foon as the baggage-waggons were laden, he first set fire to his own and those of his friends, and then commanded those to be burnt which belonged to the rest of the army. An action which in the deliberation seemed more dangerous and difficult than it proved in the execution; for few were distaissed with it; on the contrary, most of them, as if inspired with an enthusiastic zeal, having furnished one another with what was absolutely necessary, with loud shouts and outcries burnt and destroyed

^{*} Athenaus fays he was carried about in an iron cage, where he was almost devoured by vermin, and at last exposed to a lion.

all that was superfluous: the fight of which redon-

bled Alexander's vigour and alacrity.

He was now grown very fevere and inexorable in punishing those who committed any fault; for he put Menander one of his friends to death, for deferting a fortress, where he had placed him in garrison; and shot Orsodates, one of the Barbarians who had revolted from him, with his own hand. At this time a sheep happened to year a lamb, with the perfect shape and colour of a tiara upon the head, and testicles on each side; which prodigy so shocked Alexander, that he immediately caused his Babylonian priefts, whom he usually carried about with him for fuch purposes, to purify him, and told his friends, that he was not fo much concerned for his own fake, as for theirs, out of an apprehenfion that the gods after his death might fuffer his empire to fall into the hands of some degenerate, unworthy person. But this fear was soon removed by another prodigy that happened not long after. and was thought to prefage better. For Proxenus, a Macedonian, chief of those who had the care of the king's equipage, as he was digging near the river Oxus, to fet up the royal pavilion, discovered a fpring of gross oily liquor; and after the top was drawn off, there iffued out pure clear oil, not differing in tafte or fmell from real oil, and having exactly the same smoothness and brightness, though no olive-trees grew in that country *. The water indeed of the river Oxus is faid to be fo fat, that it leaves a gloss on their skins who bathe themselves in it. Whatever might be the cause, it is certain that Alexander was wonderfully pleafed with it, as

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^{*} Strabo fays, "that they who dig up the earth near the river Ochus meet with springs of oil;" and adds, "that as the earth abounds with sulphureous bituminous liquids, so doth it likewise with such as are fat and unctuous." lib. 11. He says that of the river Ochus, which Plutarch ascribes to the Oxus; but those two rivers join, and flow together through a certain tract of land. Quintus Curtius gives another turn to this miracle.

appears by his letters to Antipater, where he tells him, that he looked upon it as one of the most confiderable prefages that the gods had ever favoured him with. The diviners told him, it fignified his expedition would be glorious in the event, but very painful, and attended with many difficulties; for oil, they faid, was bestowed on mankind by God as a refreshment after their labours. Nor did they judge amis; for he exposed himself to many hazards in the battles which he fought, and received very deep and dangerous wounds; besides, his army fuffered extremely from the unwholesomeness of the air, and the want of necessary provisions. But he still laboured to furmount fortune by his resolution, and to supply by virtue what he wanted in strength, being persuaded that nothing was insuperable to the brave, and nothing fecure to the timorous. Therefore when he besieged Sisimethres on an inacceffible, impregnable rock *, and his foldiers began to despair of taking it, he asked Oxyartes. Whether Sisimethres was a man of courage? He affured him, he was the greatest coward in the world. Then you tell me, faid he, that the place is our own, if the commander of it be a coward. And in a little time he fo intimidated Sisimethres, that he took it without any difficulty. At an attack which he made upon fuch another steep place with some of the youngest of his Macedonian foldiers, he called to one whose name was Alexander, and told him, It would become him to behave gallantly for the fake of his name. The youth fought bravely, and was killed in the action, at which the king was fenfibly afflicted. Another time, feeing his men march flowly and unwillingly to the fiege of a place called Ny-

^{*} In Bactriana. Strabo says that it was fifteen furlongs high, and eighty in compass, and that the top was a fertile plain, capable of maintaining five hundred men. It was here Alexander espoused Roxana the daughter of Oxyartes.

la *, because of a deep river between them and the town, he advanced before them, and standing upon the bank, What a miserable man, faid he, am I, that I have not learned to fwim? And then was hardly diffuaded from endeavouring to pass it with his shield in his hand. Once having founded a retreat when he was fighting before the walls of a town to which he had laid fiege, the befieged fent their ambaffadors, with offers to furrender the place. When they were introduced into his presence, they were furprised to find him armed, and without any pomp or ceremony about him. Afterwards, when his attendants brought him a cushion, he bid the eldest of them, named Acuphis, take it and sit down upon it. The old man charmed with his humanity and courtefy, asked him, What his countrymen should do to merit his friendship? I would have them, said Alexander, chuse thee to govern them, and fend one hundred of the most considerable and most worthy men among them to remain with me as hoftages. I shall govern them with more ease, replied Acuphis smiling, if I send you so many of the worst, rather than the best of my subjects.

Taxiles's † dominions in India are faid to have been as large as Egypt, and to have abounded re-

^{*}Arrian calls it Nyssa, and places it between the rivers Cophene and Indus, near Mount Meris. He adds, that it was built by Dionysius or Bacchus. This makes Lubinus think that it is the same with Dionysiopolis of Ptolemy, which he likewise calls Nagara. The river, which, according to Plutarch, runs under the walls of Nysa, must be the river Coas mentioned by Ptolemy. Justin calls Dionysiopolis Nyssa, and agrees with Arrian in his account of it. It is at present called Nerg.

[†] Alexander passed the Indus, over a bridge near the town of Pencolaites. Between the Indus and Hydaspes stood Taxiles, a large well-governed city. The country about it is both beautiful and fertile, and some authors say it is bigger than Egypt. Strab. lib. 15. Strabo as well as Plutarch calls the king of the country Taxiles; but others say he was only the satrapa, or lieutenant, that his true name was Mophis, or Omphis, and that Alexander made him take the crown, and the name of Taxiles, which was the common name of the kings of that country.

markably in good pastures, and in excellent fruits. Taxiles himself was a wife man, and at his first interview with Alexander, fpoke to him in thefe terms: To what purpose, faid he, should we make war upon one another, if thy design of coming into these parts be not to rob us us of our water, or our necessary food, which are the only things that wife men are indispensably abliged to fight for? As for other riches and poffessions, if I am better provided of them than thou, I am ready to let thee share with me; but if fortune has been more liberal to thee than me, I will not decline thy favours, but accept them with all the grateful acknowledgments that are due to a benefactor. This discourse pleased Alex. ander so much, that, embracing him, he faid, Do not think, that thy fair speeches and kind behaviour shall bring thee off in this interview without fighting. No, thou shalt not escape so; for as to benefits, I will contend with thee fo far, that how obliging soever thou art, thou shalt not have the better of me. Then * receiving some presents from him, he returned him others of greater value, and last of all presented him with a thousand talents. At this his friends were exceedingly displeased, but it gained him the hearts of many of the Barbarians.

The valiantest of the Indians now taking pay of feveral cities, undertook to defend them, and did it so bravely, that they put Alexander to a great deal of trouble and fatigue, till having made an agreement with him, upon the surrender of a place, he fell upon them as they were marching away, and put them all to the sword. This one breach of his word was a perpetual blemish upon him, tho on all other occasions he had managed his wars with that justice and honour that became his dignity. Nor were the Indian philosophers less hurtful

^{*} Quintus Curtius says that Alexander returned him all the presents he had made him, and added a thousand talents to them, together with a great deal of gold and silver plate, several Persian robes, and thirty horses with such furniture to them as he used himself.

to him by inveighing bitterly against those princes who were of his party, and soliciting the free cities to oppose him; therefore he took several of them

and caused them to be hanged.

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Alexander in his own letters has given us the following account of his war with Porus. The two armies were separated by the river Hydaspes, on whose opposite bank Porus continually kept his elephants in order of battle, with their heads towards their enemies, to guard the paffage. He every day made great noises in his camp, that the Barbarians being accustomed to it might become careless and secure. In-a stormy dark night he passed over the river, considerably above the place where the enemy lay, into a little island, with part of his foot, and the best of his horse. Here there fell a violent shower of rain, accompanied with lightning and whirlwinds, and fome of his men were burnt and destroyed by the lightning; however he quitted the island, and made over to the other fide. The Hydaspes, now after the storm, was fo fwoln and grown fo rapid, as to make a breach in the bank, at which part of the river ran out; fo that when he came to land, he found the place extremely flippery, and the ground broken and hollowed by the current. In this diffress he was heard to fay, O Athenians! would you have believed that I should expose myself to such dangers, to merit your praises? But as to this last particular, it is only mentioned by Oneficritus *. Alexander himfelf goes on, and tells us that here they quitted the rafts they had made use of in their passage, and passed the breach in their armour up to the breast in water; and then he advanced with his horse about twenty furlongs before his foot, concluding, that if the enemy charged him with their cavalry, he

^{*} Plutarch destroys the credit of this particular by barely naming the author; for this Onesicritus, as Strabo tells us, lib. 15. was of all Alexander's historians the most fabulous,

should be too ftrong for them; if with their foot. his own would come up time enough to his affiftance. Nor did he judge amis; for being charged by a thousand horse, and fixty armed chariots. which advanced before their main body, he took all the chariots, and killed four hundred horse upon the place. Porus gueffing by this that Alexander himself was come over, brought up his whole army, except a party which he left behind to prevent the rest of the Macedonians from passing the river. But Alexander fearing the multitude of the enemy, and the force of their elephants, would not join battle with them in front, but dividing his forces, attacked their left wing himself, and commanded Cænus to fall upon the right. Both wings being broken retired to the elephants. Though the engagement began early in the morning, it was two hours after noon before the Barbarians were entirely defeated. This description of the battle the conquerour has left us in his own epistles.

Almost all writers agree that Porus was four cubits and a palm in height *, and that when he was upon his elephant, which was a very large one, his flature and bulk were fuch, that he appeared to be but proportionably mounted. This elephant, during the whole battle, gave many proofs of wonderful understanding and a particular care of the king, whom, as long as he was able to fight, he defended with great courage, repelling those who attacked him; and as foon as he perceived him ready to faint by reason of his many wounds and the multitude of darts with which he was pierced, to prevent his falling off, he foftly kneeled down, and then with his probofcis gently drew every dart out of his body. When Porus was taken prisoner, and Alexander asked him, How he expected to be used? He answered, Like a king. And hast thou nothing else

i, e, near seven feet.

in the word King every thing is comprehended. Accordingly Alexander dealt very generously with him; for he not only suffered him to govern his own kingdom as his lieutenant, but added to it a large province of some free people whom he had newly subdued, which consisted of sisteen several nations, and contained sive thousand considerable towns *, beside abundance of villages. Another government three times as large as this he bestowed on Philip, one of his friends.

Some time after the battle with Porus, most authors agree, that Bucephalus died of his wounds, or, as Onesicritus says, of age and fatigue, being thirty years old. Alexander was no less concerned at his death, than if he had lost an old companion, or an intimate friend, and built a city which he named Bucephalia in memory of him, on the banks of the river Hydaspes. We are told moreover, that having lost a favourite dog named Peritas, he likewise built a city in memory of him, calling it after his name. Sotio † the historian tells us, that he had this particular from Potamo of Lesbos.

But this last combat with Porus abated the courage of the Macedonians, and hindered their further progress in India. For having with great difficulty defeated him, who brought but twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse into the

^{*} This extravagant number must be an errour of the transcribers, who seem to have given us the number of inhabitants in one city for the number of cities. Arrian's account is this. "He took thirty-feven cities, the least of which contained five thousand inhabitants, and feveral of them above ten thousand, He took besides a great number of villages not less populous than the cities, and gave the government of this country to Porus.

[†] This author lived in the reign of Tiberius, and was contemporaty with Potamo, who wrote a history of Alexander's exploits in India. We must not confound him with that Sotio who lived about the time of Ptolemy Philometer, and was the author of a treatise entitled The fuccession of the philosophers, of which Heraclides Lembus, the son of Serapio, made an abridgment.

field, they strongly opposed Alexander's design of obliging them to pass the Ganges too *, being told that it was thirty two furlongs in breadth, and an hundred fathoms deep, and that the banks on the further fide were covered with prodigious numbers of foot, horse, and elephants. For they had intelligence, that the kings of the Gandarites and Præsians + expected them there with eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eight thousand armed chariots, and fix thousand elephants 1. Nor was this an improbable report; for Androcottus, who not long after reigned in those parts, made a present of five hundred elephants at once to Seleucus. and with an army of fix hundred thousand men fubdued all India. Alexander at first was so grieved and enraged at the reluctance he found in the army, that he shut himself up in his tent, declaring, that if they would not pass the Ganges, he owed them no thanks for any thing they had hitherto done, and that to retreat now was plainly to confess themselves vanquished. But at last, the prudent remon. strances and perfuasions of his friends, and the tears and lamentations of his foldiers, who in a fuppliant manner crouded about the entrance of his

* There was a letter extant in Strabo's time, written by Craterus to his mother Aristopatra, wherein he informed her that Alexander was arrived upon the banks of the Ganges, and that he himself had seen that river, of which he gave a wonderful account, especially concerning the depth and breadth of it. It is well known that the Ganges is the largest of all the rivers in the three continents, that the Indus is the second, the Nie the third, and the Danube the fourth.

† Quintus Curtius makes one man king of those two nations. But it appears from Strabo that they were two distinct governments, as they are represented here by Plutarch. The Gandarites were a people inhabiting near the heads of the Ganges and Indus, and the Præsians on the banks of the Ganges, where that river falls into another called Erannoboas. The capital of these was called Palibothra; and the king, besides his family-name, was called after the name of his city Palibothras, Strab. lib. 15. Lubinus is of opinion, that it is the same with that which is called at present Holobass, in the dominions of the Great Mogul.

† Diodorus says twenty thousand horse, two thousand chariots, and

four thousand elephants,

tent, prevailed with him to think of returning. Yet, before he decamped, he contrived fome artifices to delude posterity into a false opinion of his greatness, by scattering about in different places arms of an extraordinary bigness, and mangers and bits for horses, above the usual fize. He erected altars also to the gods, which the kings of the Præfians even in our time highly reverence, often passing the river to facrifice upon them after the Grecian manner. Androcottus, then a youth, faw Alexander there, and often faid afterwards, that he miffed but little of making himfelf mafter of those countries; because their king, who then reigned, was hated and despised for the vitiousness of his life, and the meanness of his extraction *.

Alexander decamping from hence, was defirous to fee the ocean; for which purpose he caused a great many boats and rafts to be built, in which he went at leifure down the rivers. But his navigation was neither unprofitable nor unactive; for, by making feveral defcents, he took the fortified towns, and made himself master of the country on both fides. But at the fiege of a city of the Mallians, who are the most valiant people of India, he was in great danger of his life; for having beaten off the defendants with showers of arrows, he was the first man who mounted the wall by a scaling-ladder, which, as foon as he was up, broke, and left him alone exposed to the darts which the Barbarians. threw at him in great numbers from below. In this diffress, collecting all his force and poifing his body, he leaped down into the midst of his enemies, and had the good fortune to light upon his feet.

The

This king's name was Agrammes; he was the fon of a barber, with whose person the Queen was so smitten, that she raised him to great dignity. This wretch having treacherously murdered the king, feized on the kingdom upon a pretence of being guardian to the royal infants, whom likewise he caused to be murdered. His son suceceded him, and was the person who was on the throne during this exnedition of Alexander. Dd2

The glittering of his armour, from this fudden and violent motion, feemed to the Barbarians like lightning or some supernatural splendour slashing about his body. This frighted them fo at first, that they ran away, and dispersed themselves; till seeing him feconded but by two of his guards, they fell upon him hand to hand, and though he defended himself very bravely, wounded him through his armour with their fwords and fpears. One who flood further off, drew a bow with fuch strength. that the arrow finding its way through his cuirafs, fluck in his ribs under the breaft. This stroke was fo violent, that it made him give back, and fet one knee to the ground, which as foon as he that shot him perceived, he came up to him with his drawn fcimitar; but Peucestas and Limnæus * interposed, who were both wounded, Limnæus mortally, but Peucestas stood his ground, while Alexander killed the Barbarian. But this did not free him from danger: for, beside many other wounds, he at last received fo violent a stroke with a club upon his neck. that he was forced to lean his body against the wall, where he flood looking upon the enemy. When he was reduced to this extremity, the Macedonians breaking in to his affiftance, took him up quite infenfible, and conveyed him to his tent; upon which it was prefently 1 sported all over the camp that he was dead. But when they had with great difficulty and pains fawed off the shaft of the arrow. which was of wood, and fo with much ado got off his cuirafs, they then proceeded to draw out the head, which they found was three fingers broad and four long +, and that it stuck fast in the bone. During the operation, he was taken with almost mortal fwoonings; but when it was out, he came to himself again. But even after the danger was past, he continued very weak, and confined himself

^{*} Quintus Curtius calls him Timeus.

[†] i. e. A little more than two inches broad, and three inches long.

2 great while to a regular diet, attending entirely to the cure of his wound; till one day hearing the Macedonians were so desirous to see him, that they were ready to mutiny, he put on his robe, and when he had showed himself to them, and facristced to the gods, without more delay he went on board again, and as he coasted along, subdued a great deal of the country on both sides, and took several considerable cities.

In this voyage he took ten of the Indian philofophers prisoners, who had been most active in perfuading Sabbas to rebel, and befide that, had done the Macedonians a great deal of mischief. These men, because they go naked, are called Gymnosophists *; and are reputed to be extremely acute and concife in their answers to whatsoever is propounded to them; which he made trial off, by putting difficult questions to them, telling them at the fame time that he who answered worst should be put to death first, and the rest afterwards in order; and he appointed the eldest of them judge. The first being asked, Which he thought most numerous, the dead or the living? answered, The living, because they who are dead are not at all. Of the second he defired to know, Whether the earth or the fea produced the largest animals? He told him, The earth, for the fea was but a part of it. His question to the third was. Which was the craftiest animal? That, said he. with which mankind is not yet acquainted. He bid the fourth tell him, Why he persuaded Sabbas to revolt? Because, faid he, I wished him to live honourably, or die

D. d.3

miferably.

^{*} They were not so called in the days of Alexander. Strabo, upon the credit of some who had followed that prince in this expedition, says that there were two sects of these philosophers, and that one of them were called Brachmani, and the other Germani; that the Brachmani were most esteemed, because there was a consistency in their principles; that some of these Brachmani were called Gymneti, the naked; others the Mountaineers; and a third part the Polite, because they dwelt in the cities. The readers may see something very curious upon this subject in lib. xv. of that author.

miserably. Of the fifth he asked, Which was eldest. night or day? The philosopher replied, Day was eldest by one day: but perceiving that Alexander was furprised at the reply, he added, That he ought not to wonder, if strange questions had as odd answers made to them. Then he went on, and inquired of the next, What a man should do to be exceedingly beloved? He must be very powerful, said he, without making himfelf too much feared. The answer of the seventh to his question, How a man might be a god? was, If he could do that which was impossible for men to perform. The eighth being asked, Which was strongest, life or death? replied, Life, because it supported so many miseries. And the last being asked, How long he thought it became a man to live? faid, So long as he does not think death better than life. Then Alexander turned to him whom he had made judge, and commanded him to give fentence. All that I can determine, faid he, is, that they have every one answered worse than another. Then thou shalt die first, faid the king, because thou judgest so ill. Not if you keep your word, re-plied the gymnosophist,, which was, that he should die first who answered worst. In conclusion he gave them presents, and dismissed them. But to those who were in greatest reputation among them, and lived a private retired life *, he fent Oneficritus, a disciple of Diogenes the Cynic, defiring them to come to him. Calanus very arrogantly and rudely commanded him to strip himself, and hear what he faid, naked, otherwise he would not speak a word to him, though

^{*} Strabo, who gives us an account of this transaction, says, that Alexander knowing those philosophers went to wait on no one, but infifted that whoever had a mind to see or hear them should wait upon them, and thinking it beneath his dignity to go himself, and unjust to force them upon any thing contrary to their laws and institutions, sent Onescritus to them; who made his report, that he found fifteen men not far from the city, who sat naked from morning till evening in one continued posture, and that in the evening they returned into the city; that he had discoursed with one of them called Calanus, who had discoled to him things of a wonderful nature, which are to be found in Strabo, sib. xv.

he came from Jupiter himself. But Dandamis received him with more civility, and hearing him discourse of Socrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes, told him, he thought that they were men of great parts, but that they paid too much respect to the laws *. Others say, he only afked him the reason, Why Alexander undertook fo long a voyage to come into those parts? Taxiles perfuaded Calanus to visit Alexander; his proper name was Sphines, but because he used to say Cale, which in the Indian tongue is the common form of falutation, the Grecians called him Calanus. He is faid to have shown Alexander an instructive emblem of government, which was this: he threw a dry shrivelled hide upon the ground, and trod upon the edge of it; the skin, when it was pressed in one place, still rose up in another, wheresoever he trod round about it, till he fet his foot in the middle, which made all the parts lie flat and even. The meaning of this was, that Alexander ought to refide most in the middle of his empire, and not undertake fuch remote voyages.

His voyage down the rivers took up feven months time; and when he came to the fea, he failed to an island which he called Scillustis, others Psiltucis +, where going ashore, he facrificed, and made what observations he could on the nature of the fea and the coast. Then having befought the gods, that no other man might ever go eyond the bounds of this expedition, he ordered his fleet, of which he made Nearchus admiral, and Onesicritus pilot, to sail round about, leaving India on the right hand, and returned himself by land through the country of the

† Arrian calls it Celluta. Quintus Curtius hints at it without naming it. Here they first observed the sux and resux of the sea, which at first greatly terrified and surprised them.

Orites,

^{*} Mr Dacier supposes that Dand mis meant to blame those philosophers for not going naked as he did. But others think that he censured them for suppressing their sentiments concerning religion through fear of the laws.

Orites, where he was extremely diftressed for want of provisions, and lost a great number of men, so that of an army of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and sifteen thousand horse, he scarce brought back above a fourth part out of India, they were so diminished by diseases, ill diet, and the scorching heats, but mostly by famine. For their march was through an uncultivated country, whose inhabitants fared hardly, and had nothing to subsist on but a sew forry sheep, whose slesh was rank and unsavoury, by reason of their continual feeding

upon sea-fish *.

After fix days painful march he came into Gedrosia, where he found great plenty of all things, which the neighbouring kings and governours of provinces, hearing of his approach, had taken care to provide. From hence, when he had refreshed his army, he continued his march through Carmania, feafting all the way for feven days together, He with his most intimate friends banquetted and revelled night and day, upon a stage erected on a lotty, conspicuous scaffold, which, with a flow majestic pace, was drawn by eight horses. This machine was accompanied by a great many chariots, whereof some were covered with tapestry of purple and other colours, and some with green boughs, which had their place supplied with fresh ones whenever they withered. In these were carried the rest of his friends and commanders, drinking and crowned with chaplets. In all this train there was no target, helmet, or spear to be seen; but the road was covered with foldiers, continually dipping their cups in large veffels of wine, and drinking to one another, fome as they marched along, and others feated at tables, which were placed for them at proper distances in their passage. The whole country refounded with music and finging, and with the

^{*} Strabo, lib. 15. speaking of these Ichthyophagi, says, that both they and their cattle fed upon fish, wild

wild riotous frolics of the women who followed the army. This disorderly and dissolute march was closed by a very immodest figure borne in pomp, and a most licentious representation of all the obfcenity of the Bacchanals, as if Bacchus himfelf had been present to countenance and carry on the debauch *. As foon as he came to the royal palace of Gedrofia +, he again refreshed and feasted his army; and it is faid, that one day, after he had drank hard, he went out to fee an entertainment of dancing, wherein his paramour Bagoas (who defrayed the expense of one of the choruses) obtained the victory, at which he was fo elated that he croffed the stage in his festival habit, and sat down close by the king. This fo pleased the Macedonians, that they with loud acclamations called upon him to kifs Bagoas, and never left clapping their hands and shouting, till Alexander took him about the neck and kiffed him.

Here his admiral Nearchus came to him, and delighted him so much with the relation of his voyage, that he resolved himself to sail out of the mouth of Euphrates with a great fleet, with which he designed to go round by Arabia and Libya, and so by Hercules's pillars into the Mediterranean; in order to which he directed all sorts of vessels to be built at Thapsacus, and collected seamen and pilots from

^{*} This passage is so corrupted in the original that it is impossible to make any tolerable sense of it; for what can be the meaning of tais Diddas in this place? M. le Fevre in his notes upon Anacreon has restored the reading with great judgment; To de atanto in meaning of tais restored the reading with great judgment; To de atanto in meaning such as the sense of the has translated tam incompositum, et vagabundum, agmen sequebatur Phales, et Bacchica licentia lusus. This Phales was a very scandalous figure of the god of the gardens, the same which was carried in procession in Greece in the feasts of the Bacchanals, and was called Phales or Phallus. Plutarch makes use of the last of these words in the life of Romulus, Pallus yas in the sife of Romulus, Pallus trips is las averyes.

[†] How could that be, fince he had just quitted Gedrosia, and had continued his march for seven days together through Carmania? Perhaps we should read the royal palace of Carmania,

all quarters. But it fell out unlucklily for this enterprise, that the report of the difficulties he went through in his Indian expedition, the danger of his person among the Mallians, the loss of a considerable part of his forces, and the general opinion that he would hardly return in fafety, occasioned the revolt of many conquered nations, and tempted the commanders and lieutenants in feveral provinces to oppress the people with extreme injustice, avarice, and infolence. In a word, there feemed to to be throughout his whole empire an universal fluctuation and disposition to change: insomuch that Olympias and Cleopatra had raifed a faction against Antipater, and shared his government between them, Olympias feizing upon Epirus, and Cleopatra upon Macedonia. When Alexander was told of it, he faid, His mother had made the best choice, for the Macedonians would never endure to be ruled by a woman. Upon this he dispatched Nearchus again to his fleet, intending to carry the war into all the maritime provinces. In the mean time, in his march through the inland countries, he punished those commanders who had not behaved well, particularly Oxyartes, one of Abulites's fons, whom he killed with his own hand, thrusting him through the body with his spear. And when Abulites, inflead of the necessary provisions which he ought to have furnished, brought him three thousand talents in money, he ordered it to be thrown to his horses, who not meddling with it, he faid, What good does this provision do me? and fent him away to prison.

Upon his return into Persia, he distributed money among all the women of the country, according to a custom which had been always observed by their kings, who were obliged upon their progress to give every woman a piece of gold; for which reason some of them came but seldom, and Ochus was so fordidly covetous, that he never visited Persia, though it was his native country, but chose

rather

rather to live a voluntary exile, than bear the ex-

pense.

Finding Cyrus's sepulchre opened and risled, he put Polymachus who was guilty of it to death, though he was a man of quality, and born at Pella in Macedonia: and after he had read the inscription. he caused it to be cut again below the old one in Greek characters. The words were thefe: O man. who foever thou art, and whence foever thou comest, (for come I know thou wilt), I am Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire; do not envy me this little quantity of earth which covers my body. The reading of this fenfibly touched Alexander, causing him to reflect seriously upon the uncertainty and mutability of human affairs. At the same time Calanus having been a little while troubled with a loofeness, requested he might have a funeral pile erected, to which he came on horseback, and after he had faid fome prayers, and had poured a libation upon himself, and cut off some of his hair to throw into the fire, he ascended it, embracing and taking leave of the Macedonians who stood by, and defiring them to pass that day in mirth and drinking with their king, whom in a little time, he faid, he should see again at Babylon. Having faid this, he lay down, and covered himfelf up; he did not move when the fire came near him. but continued still in the same posture as at first: and thus he facrificed himfelf according to the ancient custom of the philosophers of his country. The fame thing was done long after by another Indian, who came with Cæfar to Athens, where they ftill show the Indian's monument. Alexander, at his return from the funeral pile, invited a great many of his friends and principal officers to supper, and proposed a drinking-match, in which the victor should be crowned. Promachus drank fourteen quarts of wine, and won the prize, which was worth a talent; but he furvived his victory only three days, and was followed, as Chares fays, by fortyforty-one more, who died of the same debauch, by reason of the severe frost which happened at that time.

At Sufa he married Darius's daughter Statira. and celebrated the nuptials of his friends, bestowing the noblest of the Persian ladies upon the worthiest of them. He also made a very splendid entertainment for all the Macedonians who were married before; at which it is reported, there were no less than nine thousand guests, to each of whom he gave a golden cup for them to use in their libations. Not to mention other instances of his wonderful magnificence, he paid the debts of his whole army, which amounted to nine thousand eight hundred Antigenes, (who was distinand feventy talents. guished by the name of One eyed), though he owed nothing, got his name fet down in the lift of those who were in debt, and bringing one who pretended to be his creditor, received the money. But when, the cheat was found out, the king was so incensed at it, that he banished him from court, and took away his command, though he was an excellent foldier, and a man of great courage. For when he was but a youth, and ferved under Philip at the fiege of Perinthus, where he was wounded in the eye by an arrow shot out of an engine, he would neither let the arrow be taken out, nor be perfuaded to quit the field, till he had bravely repulfed the enemy, and forced them to retire into the town. A man of his spirit was not able to support such a difgrace with any patience, and his grief and despair would certainly have killed him; but the king fearing the consequence, not only pardoned him, but let him also enjoy the benefit of his deceit.

The thirty thousand boys whom he left behind him to be instructed in military discipline, were now full grown, and were so beautiful in their persons, and performed their exercises with such dexterity and agility, that he was extremely pleased;

but

but the Macedonians were disheartened, fearing the king would now have less esteem for them. And when he was fending home the infirm and maimed foldiers, they faid they were unjustly and dishonourably dealt with; and complained, that, after he had worn them out in his fervice, he was now turning them off with difgrace, and fending them back to their own country among their friends and relations, in a worfe condition than he found them in when he brought them from thence. Therefore they defired him to discharge them all, and to account his Macedonians ufelefs, now he was fo well furnished with these dancing boys, with whom if he pleased he might go on, and conquer the whole world. These speeches so enraged Alexander, that after he had feverely reprimanded them, he removed them from his person, and chose his lifeguard and the other inferiour officers who attended him from among the Perfians. When the Macedonians faw him attended by thefe men, and themselves excluded and disgraced, they were exceedingly mortified; and upon discourse with one another they found that jealoufy and rage had almost distracted them. But at last coming to themselves again, they went unarmed with nothing on them but their tunics, and with tears and lamentations prefented themselves at his tent, desiring him to deal with them as their baseness and ingratitude deserved. However this would not prevail: for though his anger was already fomething mollified, yet he would not admit them into his presence. nor would they ftir from thence, but continued two days and nights before his tent, bewailing their misfortune, and calling upon him as their prince and fovereign. The third day he came out to them, and feeing them very humble and penitent, he wept a great while, and after a gentle reproof spoke kindly to them, and dismissed those who were unferviceable, with magnificent rewards, VOL. IV.

and this recommendation to Antipater; that when they came into Greece, at all public shows, and in the theatres, they should sit in the most honourable seats, crowned with chaplets of flowers; and he ordered the children of those who had lost their lives in his service, to have their fathers pay continued to them.

When he came to Ecbatana in Media, and had dispatched his most urgent afairs, he diverted himfelf again with spectacles, and public entertainments, to carry on which, he had a supply of three thousand performers newly arrived out of Greece. But they were foon interrupted by Hephæstion's falling fick of a fever, in which, being a young man, and a foldier too, he could not confine himfelf to so exact a diet as was necessary; for whilst his physician Glaucus was gone to the theatre, he ate a boiled capon for dinner, and drank a large draught of wine cooled with ice, upon which he grew worse, and died in a few days. At this misfortune Alexander was fo extravagantly tranfported, that to express his forrow he immediately ordered the manes and tails of all his horses and mules to be cut, and threw down the battlements of the neighbouring cities. He crucified the poor physician, and forbade the use of the flute, or any other mufical instrument in the camp for a great while, till the oracle of Jupiter Ammon injoined him to honour Hephæstion, and sacrifice to him as to a hero. Then feeking to alleviate his grief in war, he set out as if he were going to hunt men; for he fell upon the Cussaans, and put the whole nation to the fword, not sparing so much as the children. This was called a facrifice to Hephastion's ghost. He intended to bestow ten thousand talents in celebrating his funeral, and erecting a monument to him; and that the excellence and beauty of the workmanship might surpass even the expense itself, he rather chose to employ Stasicrates than any or ther

ther artist, because he always expressed something very bold, losty, and magnificent in his designs. This was the man, who in a former discourse had told him, that of all the mountains he knew, that of Athos in Thrace was the most capable of being contrived to represent the shape and lineaments of a man; that if he pleased to command him, he would make it the noblest and most durable statue in the world, and that in its lest hand it should hold a city of ten thousand inhabitants, and out of its right should pour a copious river into the sea. Though Alexander declined this project, yet now he spent a great deal of time with workmen, to invent and contrive others far more absurd and ex

pensive.

As he was upon his way to Babylon, Nearchus, who had failed back out of the ocean by the mouth of the river Euphrates, came to tell him, he had met with fome Chaldaan diviners, who warned him not to go thither. But Alexander flighted this advice, and went on; and when he came near the walls of the city, he faw a great many crows fighting with one another, fome of which fell down just by him. After this, being informed that Apollodorus the governour of Babylon had facrificed in order to know what would be his fate, he fent for Pythagoras the foothfayer; who not denying the thing, he asked him, in what condition he found the victim? and when he told him, the liver was defective in that lobe called the head, he faid, A terrible presage, indeed! However he offered Pythagoras no injury; but he was much troubled that he had neglected Nearchus's advice, and therefore remained in his camp a great while without the town, and diverted himself with failing up and down the Euphrates. For, beside this, he was terrified by many other prodigies. A tame ass fell upon the largest and handsomest lion that was kept there, and kicked him to death. One day he undressed E e 2 himself

himself to be anointed, and to play at tennis; and when he had done, and was putting his cloaths on again, the young men who had played with him, perceived a man clad in the king's robes, with a diadem upon his head, fitting filently upon his throne. They asked him, Who he was? To which he gave no answer a good while, till at last with much ado, coming to himself, he told them, His name was Dionyfius; that he was of Messenia; that for some crime of which he was accused, he had been forced to fly his country, and had made his escape by sea, and got from thence to Babylon, where he had been kept in chains for a long time; that Serapis had just before appeared to him, had freed him from his chains, conducted him to that place, and commanded him to put on the king's robe and diadem, and to sit where they found him, and to say nothing. Alexander when he heard this, by the direction of his foothfayers, put the poor wretch to death; but from that time he began to despond, and grew diffident of the protection of the gods, and very fuspicious of his friends. His greatest apprehension was of Antipater and his sons, one of whom, named Jollas, was his chief cupbearer; the other, named Cassander, was newly arrived out of Greece, and being bred up in the freedom of his country, the first time he saw the Barbarians adore the king, he was furprised at the novelty of the thing, and could not forbear laughing aloud at it; which so incensed Alexander, that he took him by the hair with both his hands, and violently beat his head against the wall. Another time, Cassander would have faid fomething in defence of Antipater, to those who accused him; but Alexander interrupting him, cried out, What is it you fay? Do you think people, if they have received no injury, would come fuch a journey only to calumniate your father? To which Caffander replied, that this very thing was a great evidence of their calumny, for the further they were come, the further they were from those proofs that could confute them.

them. Alexander smiled at this, and faid, Those are some of Aristotle's sophisms, which will serve equally on both sides; but, added he, both you and your father shall be severely punished if it appears that the complainants have received the least injustice at your hands. This menace made fuch a deep impression on Cassander's mind, that long after, when he was king of Macedonia, and master of all Greece, as he was walking one day at Delphi, and looking on the statues, at the fight of that of Alexander he was fuddenly feized with fuch a trembling and dizziness, that he with great difficulty recovered himfelf.

When once Alexander began to give way to fuperstition, his mind grew so restless and timorous, that he looked upon every event, however trifling, if in the least unusual or extraordinary, to be a prodigy and a prefage; and his court swarmed with diviners and priefts, who were perpetually offering facrifices, making purifications, and uttering prophecies. So horrid a thing is incredulity, and contempt of the gods on one hand; and no less horrid is superstition on the other, which, like water, whose property is always to flow downwards, affects only those whose minds are funk and depressed, filling them with abfurd imaginations and extravagant terrours, as it did now Alexander himfelf. But upon some answers which were brought him from the oracle concerning Hephæstion, he laid aside his forrow, and fell again to facrificing and drinking. Having given Nearchus a splendid entertainment, after he had bathed, as was his cufrom, and was just going to bed, at Medius's request he went to supper with him. Here he drank all that night and the next day to fuch excess, that it threw him into a fever, which feized him, not, as some write, after he had drank off Hercules's bowl; nor was he taken with a fudden pain in his back, as if he had been struck with a lance: for these E e 3

are the inventions of fome authors, who thought that fo noble a drama ought to have a pathetic and tragical catastrophe. Aristobulus tells us, that in the rage of his fever, and the violence of his. thirst, he took a draught of wine, upon which he fell into a frenzy, and died the thirtieth of the month Dæsius, [June]. But in his own journals we have the following account of his fickness: The eighteenth of the month Dæsius, finding himself feverish, he lay in his bathing-room. On the morrow, when he bad bathed, he returned into his chamber, and Spent the day at dice with Medius. In the evening, having bathed and sacrificed, he supped, and had his fever that night. The twentieth, after the usual sacrifices and bathing, he kept his bed in the same room, and heard Nearchus's relation of his voyage, and the observations he had made concerning the ocean. The twenty-first he passed in the same manner, his fever still increasing, and he had a very bad night. The next day he had a severe fit, and caused himself to be removed, and his bed to be set by the great bath, where he discoursed with his principal officers about filling up the vacant charges in the army with men. of tried valour and experience. The twenty-fourth, being much worse, he was carried out to affift at the sacrifices, and gave order that his chief commanders should wait within the court, whilft the other officers kept watch without doors. The twenty-fifth, he was removed to his palace on the other side the river, where he slept a little; but his fever did not abate, and when the commanders came into his chamber, he was speechless, and continued fo the following day. Then the Macedonians supposing he was dead, came with great clamour to the gates, and menaced his friends fo, that they were forced to admit them, and let them all pass unarmed by his bedside. The twenty-seventh, Pytho and Seleucus being sent to Serapis's temple, to inquire if they should bring Alexander thither, were answered by the god, that they should not remove bim. The twenty-eighth in the evening he died. This account

account is most of it word for word taken from his

own diary.

At that time no body had any fuspicion of his. being poisoned; but upon a discovery made fix years after, they fay, Olympias put many to death, and threw abroad the ashes of Jollas, who was then dead, as if he had given it him. But those who affirm that Aristotle persuaded Antipater to do it, and that it was wholly by his means that the poison was brought, produce one Agnothemis for their author, who pretends that he had heard King Antigonus speak of it, and tells us that the poison was a water of a deadly quality cold as ice, diftilling from a rock in the territory of Nonacris *, which they gathered like a thin dew, and kept in an ass's hoof; for it was so very cold and penetrating, that no other vessel would hold it. However, most are of opinion that all this is false; a strong evidence of which is, that during the diffensions among the commanders, which lasted a great many days after his death, the body continued clear and fresh, without any sign of such taint or corruption, though it lay neglected in a hot fultry place.

Roxana, who was now with child, and upon that account much honoured by the Macedonians, being jealous of Statira, sent for her by a counterfeit letter, as if Alexander had been still alive; and when she had her in her power, killed her and her sister, and threw their bodies into a well, which they filled up with earth, not without the privity and affistance of Perdiccas, who at this time, under the shelter of Aridæus, whom he carried about with him for his own security, bore the greatest sway of any. Aridæus himself, who was Philip's son, by one Philinna, an obscure common strumpet,

^{*} Nonacris was a town in Arcadia, near which there was a rock, from whence flowed a water of so deadly and cold a nature, that they gave it the name of the Stygian water.

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was a man of weak parts, by reason of a bodily indisposition, which neither was born with him nor came of itself; for in his childhood he was lively and of a promising disposition; but some potions that Olympias gave him, not only impaired his health, but weakened his understanding.

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THE

LIFE

OF

JULIUS CÆSAR.

As * foon as Sylla had made himself master of Rome, he resolved to force Cornelia †, daughter to Cinna, (who had obtained the supreme power in Rome), from Cæsar her husband; but being unable to effect it either by hopes or fears, he confiscated her dowery. The ground of Sylla's hatred to Cæsar, was the alliance between him and Marius; for Marius the elder married Julia, Cæsar's aunt by the father's side, and had by her the younger Marius, who consequently was Cæsar's cousin-german. And though at first Sylla had overlooked Cæsar from the hurry of business and the vast number of his murders and proscriptions; yet Cæsar was not satisfied with this, but presented himself to the people as a candidate for the priest-

† Cæsar married her, notwithstanding he had been contracted whilst very young to Cossuita, a lady of a consular family, and very wealthy. He would not follow the example of Piso, who, to make his court to Sylla, divorced Annia, Cinna's wife, to whom he had been married.

hood,

^{*} Some authors are of opinion, that this life of Cæsar is impersect, and that the beginning is wanting; but this conjecture is ill sounded. Plutarch passes over the first years in Cæsar's life because nothing illustrious occurred in them till in opposition to Sylla he resused to divorce Cornelia. He enters at once upon that part where he first begins to make a figure.

hood *, though he was yet extremely young; but being opposed by Sylla, he was unfuccessful in his application. When Sylla afterwards confulted with his friends about putting him to death, some of them faid that it was not worth his while to contrive the death of a boy; but he answered, That they knew little, who did not see many Marius's in that boy. Cæsar having notice of this, lay concealed a long while among the Sabines, often changing his quarters; till one night; as he was removing his lodging, and was conveyed in a litter on account of his health, he fell into the hands of Sylla's foldiers, who were fearthing those parts in order to apprehend fuch as had absconded. Cæsar, by a bribe of two talents, prevailed with Cornelius their captain to let him go, and was no fooner dismissed but he put to sea, and sailed to Bithynia. After a short stay there with Nicomedes the king, in his passage back he was taken near the island Pharmacusa by the pirates, who at that time with fome great ships, and a vast number of smaller vessels, infested those feas. When at first they demanded of him twenty talents for his ranfom, he laughed at them, as not understanding the value of their prisoner, and voluntarily engaged to give them fifty. He presently dispatched those about him to several places to raife the money, and in the mean time remained in the hands of those bloody wretches, with only one friend, and two attendants: yet he held them in fuch contempt, that when he had a mind to

Rualdus has rightly observed that Plutarch is mistaken in this particular; for it is not true that Cæsar did not stand for the priesthood till Sylla's government, and that when he did stand for it, Sylla made interest against him. It is evident from history, that Cæsar in the seventeenth year of his age breaking through his obligations to Cossuita, married Cornelia the daughter of Cinna, by whose interest, and that of Marius, he was declared stamen dialis, or priest of Jupiter. After this Sylla, who was now become absolute, earnestly pressing him to divorce Cornelia, and Cæsar obstinately resusing, he deprived him of that office. In this manner we find it related by Velleius and Suetonius.

fleep, he would fend to them, and command filence.

For thirty-eight days, he with the greatest freedom used to exercise and divert himself among them, as if they had not been his keepers, but his guards and attendants. He wrote verses and speeches, and made them his auditors; and those who did not admire them, he called to their faces illiterate and barbarous, and would often in raillery threaten to hang them. They were much pleafed with this freedom, attributing it to fimplicity and a cheerful sportive humour. As soon as his ransom was come from Viletus, he paid it, and was difcharged; but presently after he manned some ships at the port of Miletus, and went in purfuit of the pirates, whom he furprifed as they lay at anchor near the island, and took most of them. Their money he feized as plunder, and the men he fecured in prison at Pergamus. He then applied to Junius, who had the government of Afia, to whose office it belonged as prætor, to determine their punishment. Junius having his eye upon the money, (for the sum was confiderable), faid, He would think at his leifure what to do with the prisoners; upon which Cæfar took his leave of him, and went for Pergamus, where he ordered the pirates to be brought forth and crucified; which punishment he had often threatened them with, whilst he was in their hands, and they little thought he was in earnest.

In the mean time Sylla's power declined, and Cæsar's friends advised him to return to Rome; but he went to Rhodes, and entered himself in the school of Apollonius *, Molo's son, a famous rhe-

^{*} According to Suctonius, Cæsar had before this adventure of the pirates studied at Rome under Apollonius; but Plutarch very improperly makes two men of one in this place. Molo was not the name of Apollonius's father, but of Apollonius himself; and he is called Apollonius Molo by Suctonius, Quintilian, and Cicero. He was often called Molo simply, without the addition of the other name, Plutarch

torician, whom Cæfar had attended, and who was esteemed a man of virtue and integrity. Cæsar was by nature excellently framed for a perfect statesman and orator, and took fuch pains to improve his genius this way, that without dispute he might challenge the fecond place amongst men of that character. More he did not aim at, chusing to be first rather amongst men of arms and power; and therefore he never rose to that pitch of eloquence to which nature would have carried him, being diverted by those expeditions and designs, which at length gained him the empire, And he himself, in his answer to Cicero's panegyric on Cato, desires his reader not to compare the plain discourse of a foldier with that of an accomplished orator, who had employed fo great a part of his life in the study

of eloquence.

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When he was returned to Rome, he accused Dolabella of maleadministration; and many cities of Greece came in to attest it. Dolabella was acquitted: and Cæfar, in return of the favours he had received from the Grecians, affifted them in their profecution of Publius Antonius for bribery before Marcus Lucullus prætor of Macedonia. In this cause he prevailed so far, that Antonius was forced to appeal to the tribunes at Rome, alleging, that in Greece he could not have justice against Grecians. By his pleadings at Rome he acquired great reputation, and gained much upon the affections of the people, by the easiness of his address and converfation, in which he was accomplished beyond what could be expected from his age. His interest grew still infensibly greater by the entertainments he gave, and the magnificence of his whole manner of life. His enemies flighted the growth of it at first among the common people, in expectation it would foon fail, when his money was gone. But

falls into the same mistake in the life of Cicero, as Rualdus has observed.

when his power at last was fixed, and not to be controlled, and now openly tended to the fubverfion of the constitution, they were aware too late, that there is no beginning fo mean, which continued application will not make confiderable, and that fmall dangers, by being despised at first, become at last irresistible. Cicero was the first who had any fuspicions of his defigns upon the government, and faw the dangerous enterprifing fpirit which lurked beneath that difguife of good humour and affability, which he confidered as a deceitful calm that is the forerunner of a dreadful tempest: and he faid of him, In all his projects and intrigues I plainly discover the disposition of a tyrant; but when I see bis hair lie in so exact order, and observe him so often adjusting it with his finger, I cannot imagine it should enter into such a man's thoughts to subvert the Roman state. But this was faid afterwards.

The first proof he had of the people's good-will to him, was, when he obtained a tribuneship in the army against Caius Popilius. A second and clearer instance of their favour appeared upon his making an excellent oration in praise of his aunt Julia, wife to Marius, publicly in the forum: at whose funeral he was so bold as to bring forth the images of Marius, which till then no one durft produce fince the government came into Sylla's hands, Marius's party having from that time been declared enemies to the state. For when some up. on this occasion exclaimed against Cæsar, the people on the other fide were pleafed with the action, and received it with very great applause; admiring him for having revived in the city those honours of-Marius, which for fo long time had been buried. It had always been the custom at Rome to make funeral orations in praise of ancient matrons; but there was no precedent of any upon young women, till Cæfar first made one upon the death of his own wife. This also procured him great favour, and VOL. IV. by

by this expression of affection he won the hearts of the people, who looked upon him as a man of great

tenderness and extraordinary good-nature.

When he had buried his wife, he went quæstor into Spain under Antistius Væter, who was prætor, whom he honoured ever after, and made his son quæstor when he himself came to be prætor. At the expiration of his office, he married Pompeia his third wife, having then a daughter by Cornelia his strft wife, whom he afterwards married to Pompey the Great.

He was fo profuse in his expenses, that before he had any public employment, he was in debt thirteen hundred talents. Some thought, that, by being at so great a charge to be popular, he parted with a real and folid good, for what was short and uncertain: but in truth he purchased what was of the greatest value at an inconsiderable rate. When he was made furveyor of the Appian way, he difburfed beside the public money a great sum out of his private purse; and when he was ædile, he provided fuch a number of gladiators, that he entertained the people with three hundred and twenty duels: and by his great liberality and magnificence in all other public spectacles, processions, and feasts, he obscured the glory of all who went before him, and ingratiated himself so much with the people, that every one was eager to bestow upon him new offices, and new honours, in return for his munificence.

There being two factions in the city, that of Sylla, which was very powerful, and that of Marius, which was then broken, and in a very low condition, he was defirous to raife and revive it again. To this end, whilst he was in the height of his repute with the people, for the magnificent shows he gave as ædile, he ordered some images of Marius to be privately made, together with some figures of victory bearing trophies in their hands, and these

he carried in the night, and placed in the capitol. Next morning, when fome perfons faw them glittering with gold, and observed the beauty of the workmanship, and the inscriptions which gave an account of Marius's exploits against the Cimbrians. they were furprifed at the boldness of him who had fet them up; nor was it difficult to guess who it was. The fame of this foon spread, and brought together a great concourse of people: some prefently cried out that Cæfar had designs upon the government, because he had revived those honours which were buried by the laws, and by the decrees of the senate; that this was done to found the temper of the people; whose affections he had gained by his magnificent shows and entertainments, and to try whether they were tame enough to bear his humour, and fubmit quietly to his innovations. However, Marius's party took courage; and it is incredible what a multitude of them appeared on a fudden, and came shouting into the capitol. Many of them at the fight of Marius's picture wept. for joy, and Cæfar was highly extolled as the only person, who was a relation worthy of Marius. Upon this the senate met, and Catulus Luctatius, one of the most eminent Romans of that time, stood up, and accused Cæsar, closing his speech with this remarkable faying; Cæfar no longer undermines the government, but openly plants his batteries against it. But when Cæsar had made an apology for himself, and fatisfied the fenate, his admirers were very much animated, and advised him not to let any one shake his resolution, fince he was likely to get the better of them all in a little time, and to be the first man in the state with the people's confent.

At the same time Metellus the high priest died; and Catulus and Isauricus, persons of high reputation, and who bore a great sway in the senate, were competitors for the office; yet Cæsar would not give way to them, but presented himself to the F f 2

people as a candidate against them. The feveral interests seeming very equal, Catulus, who, because he had the most honour to lose, was the most anprehensive of the event, fent to Cæsar to buy him off, with offers of a great fum of money: but he answered, That he would increase his debts by a larger fum than that to carry on the competition. Upon the day of election, as his mother conducted him out of doors with tears in her eyes, he faluted her, and faid, Well, mother, to-day you will see me either highpriest, or an exile. When the votes were taken, after a great struggle, he carried it, and by that gave the fenate and nobility reason to fear he might now raise the people to the greatest height of arrogance. Therefore Pifo and Catulus blamed Cicero for letting Cæfar escape, when in the conspiracy of Catiline he had given the government fuch an advantage against him. For Catiline, who had defigned not only to change the present state of affairs, but entirely to subvert the whole commonwealth, and bring every thing into confusion, had himself escaped, the evidence not being full against him, as they had not yet discovered the whole of his defign: But he had left Lentulus and Cethegus in the city, to fupply his place in the conspiracy. Whether they had any fecret encouragement and affiftance from Cæfar, is uncertain; however, they were fully convicted in the fenate, and when Cicero the conful asked the several opinions of the senators, how they would have them punished, all who spoke before Cæfar fentenced them to death; but Cæfar flood up, and delivered a fludied speech, wherein he told them, That he thought it unprecedented and unjust, to take away the lives of two persons of their birth and rank before they were fairly tried, unless there was an absolute necessity for it; but that if they were kept confined in any town which Cicero himself should chuse, till Catiline was defeated, then the senate might in peace and at their leisure determine what was best to be done. This · sentiment fentiment had fo much appearance of humanity, and was delivered with fuch force of eloquence, that: not only those who spoke after him closed with it. but even they who had before given a contrary opinion, now came over to his; till it came to the turn of Catulus and Cato to fpeak. They warmly opposed it; and Cato infinuated in his speech some suspicions of Cæsar himself, and pressed the matter fo far, that the criminals were given up to fuffer execution. As Cafar was going out of the fenate. many of the young men who guarded Cicero ran in with their naked fwords to affault him. But Curio. as it is faid, threw his gown over him, and conveyed him out; and Cicero himself gave a fign to his guards, who watched the motions of his eye. not to kill him, either for fear of the people, or because he thought the murder unjust and illegal. If this be true, I wonder how Tully came to omit it in the book which he wrote concerning his confulfhip. However, he was blamed afterwards fornot making use of so good an opportunity against Cæfar, out of fear of the populace who very much. favoured him.

Some time after, when Cæfar went into the fenate to clear himself of some suspicions he lay under, he found great clamours raifed against him: whereupon the fenate fitting longer than ordinary, the people went up to the house in a tumult, and befet it, demanding Cæfar, and requiring them to difmifs. him. Upon this Cato much fearing a mutiny from the poorer fort, who inflamed and exasperated all the rest, and who now placed all their hopes in-Cæfar, perfuaded the fenate to give them a monthly allowance of corn *, which put the common. wealth to the extraordinary charge of feven million five hundred thousand drachmas a-year. This

^{*} But this distribution was not long continued. - 7,500,000 drachmas is nearly equal to L. 250,000 Sterling, each drachma being about eight pence, according to Arbuthnot. expedient

ry much weakened Cæsar's power, who at that time was just going to be made prætor, and consequently would have been more formidable by his office. But there was no public disturbance during his prætorship, though he met with a disagree-

able accident in his family.

Publius Clodius was a person of a patrician family, and eminent both for his riches and eloquence; but in lewdness and impudence he exceeded the very worst of those who were infamous for their debauchery. He was in love with Pompeia, Cæfar's wife, and she had no aversion to him. But there were strict guards on her apartment, and Cæfar's mother Aurelia, who was a discreet woman, being continually about her, made an interview very dangerous and difficult. The Romans have a goddess whom they call the good goddess, as the Greeks have one whom they call Gynæcea, that is, the goddels of the women. The Phrygians, who claim a peculiar title to her, fay she was mother to King Midas: the Romans pretend she was one of the Dryads, and married to Faunus: the Grecians affirm that she is that mother of Bacchus, whose name is not to be uttered: for this reason the women who celebrate her festival, cover the tents with vine-branches, and, according to the fable, a confecrated dragon is placed near the statue of the goddess. It is not lawful for a man to be present, nor even to be in the house, whilst the facred rites are celebrated; but the women by themselves perform many ceremonies refembling those used in the folemnity facred to Orpheus. When the festival comes, the hulband, who is always either conful or prætor, and with him every male creature, quits the house; the wife then taking it under her care, prepares it for the folemnity, which is performed chiefly in the night time, attended with mirth and sport, and several forts of music. As Pompeia

Pompeia was at that time celebrating this feaft. Clodius, who as yet had no beard, and whose face was like that of a young woman, thinking he might pass undiscovered, took upon him the habit and difguife of a finging woman, and went to Cæfar's house. Finding the doors open, he was readily introduced by a young maid who was in the intrigue. She presently ran to tell Pompeia, but not returning fo foon as he expected, he grew uneafy. in waiting for her, and therefore left his post, and traversed the house from one room to another, still taking care to avoid the lights, till at last Aurelia's woman met him, and invited him to fuch recreations as the women used among themselves. He refused to comply; but she presently pulled him forward, and asked him who he was and whence? Clodius told her he waited for Aura, one of Pompeia's maids, and fo betrayed himfelf by his voice: upon which the woman shrieking, ran in to the company where there were lights, and cried out, the had discovered a man. The women were all in a fright: Aurelia prefently threw a veil over the facred utenfils, put a stop to the folemnity, and having ordered the doors to be flut, ran about with lights to find Clodius, who was got into the maid's room that he had come with, and was feized there. The women knew him, and drove him out of doors, and prefently, though it was vet night, went home to tell their husbands the story. In the morning it was reported through the city that Clodius had made this impious attempt, and all agreed that he ought to be punished as an offender, not only against those whom he had affronted, but also against the public, and the gods. which one of the tribunes accused him of impiety, and fome of the principal fenators came in, and witneffed against him, that, beside many other horrible crimes, he had been guilty of incest with his own fifter, who was married to Lucullus. But the people

people fet themselves against the interest of the nobility, and defended Clodius; which was of great fervice to him with the judges, who were at a loss how to proceed, being afraid to provoke the commonalty. Cæsar immediately divorced Pompeia: but being fummoned as a witness against Clodius, he faid, He had nothing to charge him with. This looking like a paradox, the accuser asked him, Why then he parted with his wife? Cafar replied, Because I cannot bear that my wife should be so much as suspected. Some say that Cæsar spoke as he thought; others, that he did it to gratify the people, whom he faw very earnest to fave Clodius. Clodius therefore was acquitted, most of the judges having obscured the letters upon their tablets *, that they might not be in danger from the people by condemning him, nor in difgrace with the nobility by acquitting him.

The province of Spain + fell to Cæsar's lot at the expiration of his prætorship; but he found himself very much embarrassed by his creditors,

they who are not conversant in the Roman antiquities will be apt to conclude from this passage, that Cæsar had the government of all Spain conferred upon him; whereas the further Spain only sell to his lot, ex præturd ulteriorem fortitus Hispaniam, says Suetonius, which comprehended Lusitania and Bætica, that is, Portugal and Andalusia.

The manner of passing sentence among the Romans in criminal causes was this. When the accusation and defence were finished, the prætor-gave to each of the judges three tablets covered with wax, on one of which was marked the letter A, i. e. absolvo, on the second C, i.e. condemno, and on the third N. L. i. e. non liquet. They then withdrew to confult, and each threw into an urn what tablet he pleafed; thefe were then counted, and the prætor pronounced the fentence according to the greater number, either absolving the criminal, or condemning him, or referring the determination to another trial. The letters being marked upon wax might eafily be effaced or obscured; and this the judges in that hazardous fituation probably did, that it might be quite uncertain what their determination was. And that there was some uncertainty, appears from what Plutarch says in the life of Cicero; for after mentioning that the judges were so terrified that they procured a guard for their protection, and that most of them obscured the letters upon their tablets, he adds, Most of the tablets, how-

who, as he was going off, came upon him, and were very preffing and importunate. This made him apply to Craffus, who was the richest man in Rome, but stood in need of the affistance of Cæfar's activity and warmth of temper to enable him to oppose Pompey with fuccess. Crassus undertook to fatisfy those creditors who were most troublefome and untractable, and engaged himself to the value of eight hundred and thirty talents *: upon which Casar was now at liberty to go to his province. In his journey as he was croffing the Alps, and passing by a small village of the Barbarians, whichwas stocked with but few inhabitants, and those wretchedly poor, his friends fmiled, and asked him by way of raillery, If there were any canvassing for offices there, any contention which should be uppermost, or any feuds of great men one against another? To which Cæfar answered very seriously, For my part, I had rather be the first man among these fellows, than the second man in Rome. It is faid, that another time whilst he was in Spain, and reading at a leifurehour the history of Alexander, he fat a great while very thoughtful, and at last burst into tears. His friends were furprifed, and asked him the reason of Do you think, faid he, I have not just cause to weep, when I consider that Alexander at my age had conquered so many nations, and that I have all this time done nothing that is memorable?

As foon as he came into Spain, he was very active, and in a few days had added ten new cohorts to those twenty which were there before. With these he marched against the Gallæci and Lusitani, conquered them, and advancing as far as the ocean, subdued other nations which never before had been subject to the Romans. Having managed his militry affairs with good success, he was equally happy in the course of his civil government. For he e-

stablished.

^{* 830} talents is about 160,000 pounds Sterling, each talent being valued at L. 193.

ftablished concord and tranquillity in the several cities, and took especial care to compose the differences betwixt debtors and creditors. He ordered that the creditor should receive two thirds of the debtor's yearly income, and that the other third should remain to the debtor himself, till by this method the whole debt was at last discharged. This conduct made him leave his province with great reputation; though he carried off great wealth himself, and enriched his soldiers, who therefore complimented him with the title of Im-

berator.

There was a law among the Romans, that whoever defired the honour of a triumph should stay without the city; and another, that those who put up for the confulfhip should appear personally upon the place. Cæfar came home at the very time of chufing confuls; and being in a strait between these two opposite laws, fent to the senate to desire that he might be allowed to fue for the confulship though absent. Cato stood up in defence of the law, and strenuously opposed his request; afterwards perceiving that Cæfar had prevailed with a great part of the fenate to comply with it, he made it his business to gain time, and wasted a whole day in harangues. Upon which Cæfar thought fit to drop the triumph, and purfued the confulship. He came therefore prefently into the city, and entered upon a project which deceived all but Cato. This was the reconciling of Crassus and Pompey, who then bore the greatest sway in Rome. There had been a misunderstanding between them; but Cæfar made up the difference, and by this means ftrengthened himself by the united power of both. Thus he privately undermined the government by an action which feemingly was only an office of kindness and humanity. For it was not the quarrel betwixt Pompey and Cæsar, as most men imagine, that was the foundation of the civil wars, but but their union, their conspiring at first to subvert the aristocracy, and their quarrelling at last which should be monarch. Cato, who often foretold what the consequence of this alliance would be, had then the character of an ill-tempered and overbusy man, but afterwards the reputation of a wise though unfortunate counsellor. Thus Cæsar, being doubly guarded with the interest of Crassus and Pompey, was promoted to the consulship, and declared by the general suffrage of the people with

Calpurnius Bibulus,

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When he was fixed in his office, he proposed fome laws which were more worthy of a bold mutinous tribune than a conful, and were defigned only to gain the favour of the commonalty by decreeing to them a division of lands and a distribution of corn. The best and most honourable of the fenators opposed it; upon which, having long waited for fuch a pretence, he openly protested, that he was forced unwillingly to appeal to the people, and that the rigour and opposition of the senate had driven him to the necessity of flying to them for their protection. This he did accordingly; and having Craffus on one fide of him, and Pompey on the other, he asked them two, whether they confented to the laws he had proposed? They owned their affent; upon which he defired them to affift him against those who with fword in hand had threatened to oppose him. They engaged they would; and Pompey added further, that he would not only meet their fwords with fword in hand, but that he would bring a buckler with him besides. This speech the nobles resented, as neither fuitable to his dignity, nor becoming the reverence due to the senate, but as altogether rash and infolent: the people however were pleafed with it.

Cæsar, that he might still more firmly secure to himself the interest of Pompey, gave him his daughter Julia in marriage, who had before been contracted contracted to Servilius Capio, and told Servilius he should have Pompey's daughter, who was not unprovided neither, but designed for Sylla's son, Faustus. A little time after Cæfar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso, and made Piso conful for the year following. Cato exclaimed loudly against this, and protested with a great deal of warmth, that it was intolerable that the government should be prostituted by marriages, and that these men should advance one another to the commands. of armies, provinces, and to other great posts, by

the interest of women.

Bibulus, Cæfar's colleague, finding it was to no purpose to oppose Cæsar's laws, and having been frequently in danger of being murdered in the Forum together with Cato, confined himself to his house, and there spent the remaining part of his confulthip. Pompey, when he was married, presently filled the Forum with foldiers, and fo fecured to the people their new laws, and to Cæfar the government of all Gaul on both fides of the Alps, together with Illyricum, and the command of four legions for five years. Cato made fome attempts to oppose these measures, but was fent to prison by Cæfar, who imagined he would appeal to the But when Cæfar faw that he went along without speaking a word, and that not only the nobility refented it, but that the people also out of their veneration to Cato's virtue waited on him, and, by their filence and dejected looks, expressed a great concern for him, he himfelf privately defired one of the tribunes to rescue Cato. As for the other fenators, fome few of them attended the house; the rest being disgusted, absented themselves. Hence Confidius, a very old man, took occasion one day to tell Cæfar, that the fenators did not meet because they were afraid of his soldiers. Cæsar prefently asked him, Why do not you then out of the same fear keep at home? To which the old man replied,

plied, that age was his guard against fear, and that the small remains of his life were not worth much care.

But the most scandalous thing that was done in Cæsar's consulship, was his promoting Clodius, who attempted to dishonour his bed, and who had impiously profaned the facred and mysterious vigils. Him he preferred on purpose to ruin Cicero; nor did Cæsar take the field till they had over-

powered him, and driven him out of Italy.

Such was Cæfar's conduct before the wars of Gaul. After this he feems to have begun his courfe afresh, and to have entered upon a new and different scene of action. Those battles which he afterwards fought, and the many expeditions in which he fubdued the Gauls, show him to have been a foldier and a general, not in the least inferiour to any of the greatest and most admired commanders. For if we compare him with the Fabii, the Metelli, the Scipio's, and with those that were his contemporaries, or not long before him, Sylla, Marius, the two Luculli, or even Pompey himself, whose fame for every kind of military virtue reached the heavens, we shall find Cæsar's actions to have surpassed them all. One he excelled on the acount of the difficulty of the places where he fought; another in respect of the large extent of country which he fubdued; fome in the number and strength of the enemies whom he conquered; and some in theroughness and barbarity of the tempers of those people whom he polished and civilized; others in his humanity and clemency to those he overpowered; and others in his gifts and gratuities to his foldiers; all in the number of the battles which he fought, and of the enemies whom he killed. For he had not purfued the wars in Gaul full ten years, before he took by storm eight hundred towns, and fubdued three hundred states; and whereas the number of men with whom at different times he was engaged amounted in all to three millions, one VOL. IV. Gg million

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million of these he slew in battle, and made another million prisoners. The zeal and affection of his foldiers for him was fuch, that those who in other expeditions were but ordinary men, were invincible and irrefiftible when they went upon any danger where Cæfar's glory was concerned. Such an one was Acilius, who in a fea-fight before Marfeilles flung himself into a galley belonging to the enemy, where though he had his right hand cut off with a fword, yet still held his buckler in his left, and struck the enemies in the face with it, till he defeated them, and made himself master of the ves-Such another was Cassius Scava, who in the battle fought against Pompey near Dyrrhachium, having loft one of his eyes by an arrow, having his shoulder pierced with one javelin, and his thigh run through with another, and having received a hundred and thirty darts upon his target, called to the enemy, as though he would furrender himfelf; but when two of them came up to him, he cut off the arm of one with his fword, and by a blow onthe face forced the other to retire, whilst with the affiftance of his own party he made his escape *. Again in Britain, when some of the vanguard were accidentally fallen into a morafs full of water, and there affaulted by the enemy, a common foldier, whilft Cæfar flood and looked on, threw himfelf into the midst of them, and, after many and fignal demonstrations of his valour, beat off the Barbarians, and rescued the men. At last he himself with much ado, partly by fwimming, and partly by wading, past the morass, but in the passage lost his shield. Cæsar and those about him were astonished at the action, and went to meet him with joy

^{*} Cæsar himself gives us an account of this action in his third book of the civil wars, and tells us, that this soldier received two hundred and thirty darts upon his target, and adds, that he gave him as a reward for his valour two hundred thousand sesterces, and promoted him from the eighth rank to the first, and besides other military rewards, decreed double pay to the soldiers of that cohort.

and acclamations; but the foldier, very much dejected, and in tears, threw himself down at Cæsar's feet, and begged his pardon for having lost his buckler. Another time in Africa, Scipio having taken a ship of Cæsar's in which was Granius Petronius, who had lately been made quæstor, put the other passengers to the sword, but told the quæstor, that he gave him his life: but he replied, It is not usual for Cæsar's soldiers to take, but to give life; and ha-

ving faid this, he fell upon his own fword.

This courage and these principles of honour were inspired into them, and cherished by Cæsar himself, who, by his liberal distribution of money and honours, showed them, that he did not from the wars heap up wealth for his own luxury, or the gratifying his private pleafure, but that he took care to fettle a fure fund for the reward and encouragement of valour, and that he looked upon himfelf as rich only in that which he gave to deferving foldiers. Besides, there was no danger to which he did not willingly expose himself, no labour from which he pleaded an exemption. His contempt of danger was not so much admired by his foldiers, because they knew how much he loved honour: but his enduring fo much hardfhip, which he did to all appearance beyond his natural strength, very much aftonished them. For he was of a slender habit of body, had a foft and white skin, was troubled with pains in his head, and subject to an epilepfy, which it is faid first seized him at Corduba. But he did not make the weakness of his constitution a pretext for his eafe, but used war as the best physic against his indispositions; and by continual marches, coarfe diet, and frequent lodging in the fields, he struggled with his difeases, and prepared his body against all attacks. He slept generally in his chariots or litters, and employed even his reft in action. In the day he was carried to view caftles, garrisons, or fortifications, in his chariot, having G g 2 always

always a fervant fitting with him, whose business it was to write down what he dictated as he went, and a foldier attending behind, who carried his fword. He usually drove so briskly, that when he first set out from Rome, he arrived at the river Rhone within eight days. He had been an expert rider from his childhood; for it was usual with him to hold his hands close behind him, and to put his horse to full speed. But in the wars he had improved himself so far as to dictate letters on horseback, and to furnish employment for two secretaries at the same time, or, as Oppius says, for more. And it is thought that he was the first who found out a new way of conversing with his friends by letters, when either through multitude of business, or the large extent of the city, he had not time for a personal conference, about such incidents as required a fudden dispatch.

How little concerned he was about his diet, we may learn from this remarkabe instance. When Valerius Leo invited him one night to supper at Milan, and treated him with afparagus, upon which instead of oil, he had poured sweet ointment, Cæfar fed on it without any difgust, and reprimanded his friends for finding fault with it. For it was enough, said he, not to eat what you did not like; but he who reflects on another man's want of breeding, shows be wants it as much himself. Another time upon the road being driven by a fform into a poor man's cottage, where he found but one room, and that fuch as would afford but a mean reception to a fingle person, he told his companions, that the most bonourable places ought to be given to the best men, but the most necessary accommodations to the weakest; and accordingly ordered that Oppius, who was infirm, should lodge within, whilft he and the rest slept under a shed at the door.

His first war in Gaul was against the Helvetians and Tigurini, who having burnt twelve of their

own towns, and four hundred villages, would have marched forward through that part of Gaul which. was fubject to the Romans, as the Cimbrians and Teutones formerly had done. For they were not inferiour to them in courage, and in numbers they were equal, being in all three hundred thousand. of which one hundred and ninety thousand were fighting men. Cæfar did not engage the Tigurini in person, but sent Labienus his lieutenant *, who routed them near the river Arar: but the Helvetians furprifed Cæfar, and unexpectedly fet upon him as he was conducting his army to a confederate town +. However, he managed so as to get into a place well fortified, where, when he had mustered and drawn up his men, his horse was brought to him; upon which he faid, When I have won the battle. I will use my horse for the pursuit, but at present let us go against the enemy: accordingly he charged them furiously on foot. After a long and sharp engagement. he drove the main army out of the field, but found the greatest difficulty when he came to their carriages and ramparts, where not only the men stood and fought, but the women also and children defended themselves, till they were cut to pieces; infomuch that the fight was scarce ended till midnight. This action, in itself very great, Cæfar crowned with another more glorious, by gathering in a body all the Barbarians that had escaped out of the battle, above one hundred thousand in number, and obliging them to repair to the country which they had deferted, and the cities

* Cæfar fays himself that he left Labienus to guard the works he had raised from the lake of Geneva to Mount Jura, and that he marched in person at the head of three legions to attack the Tigurini in their passage over the Saone, and killed a great number of them.

[†] Bibracte, called at present Autun. Cæsar gives us a description of this engagement in his first book of the war in Gaul. Here it was that in order to prevent all hopes of a retreat, and to share equally with all in the danger, he sent back his horse, the rest following his example.

which they had burnt. This he did for fear the Germans should pass the Rhine, and possess them-selves of the country whilst it lay uninhabited.

His fecond war was in favour of the Gauls against the Germans, though some time before he had procured Ariovistus their king to be owned at Rome as an ally. But they were very unfufferable neighbours to those under his dominion; and it. was probable, that, when occasion offered, they would not be fatisfied with their late acquisitions, but would attempt to feize on the rest of Gaul, and drive out the inhabitants. But finding his commanders timorous, and especially those of the young nobility, who feemed to think that in any expedition under Cæfar they should have nothing to do but to enrich themselves and live in ease and pleasure, he called them together, and advised them to retire, and not to run the hazard of a battle against their inclinations, since they were so effeminate and cowardly; telling them withal, that he would take only the tenth legion, and march against the Barbarians, whom he did not expect to find an enemy more formidable than the Cimbri, norshould they find him a general inferiour to Marius. Upon this the tenth legion deputed some of their body to return him thanks; and the other legions reproached their officers, and with great vigour and zeal followed him many days journey, till they encamped within two hundred furlongs of the enemy. Ariovistus's resolution began to waver upon their very approach; for not expecting that the Romans would attack the Germans, but on the contrary, that, if attacked themselves, they would not have fustained the charge, he admired Cæfar's courage, and at the same time saw his own army under a. They were still more discougreat consternation. raged by the prophecies of their holy women, who by observing the eddies of rivers, and taking omens from the windings and noise of brooks, foretold

future events, and warned them not to engage before the next new moon. Cæfar having had intimation of this, and feeing the Germans lie still, thought it expedient to attack them whilst they were under these apprehensions, rather than sit still and wait their time. Accordingly he made his approaches to their fortifications, and to the hills where they were encamped, and fo haraffed and exasperated them, that at last they came down with great fury to engage. But he gained a glorious victory, and purfued them for three hundred furlongs as far as the Rhine *; all which space was covered with spoils and bodies of the flain. Ariovistus made shift to pass the Rhine with the small remains of his army; for it is faid the number of the flain amounted to eighty thousand.

After this action Cæfar left his army at their winter-quarters in the country of the Sequani, and, in order to attend his affairs at Rome, went into that part of Gaul which lies on the Po, and was part of his province; for the river Rubicon divides the Cifalpine Gaul from the reft of Italy. There he remained and employed himself in cultivating the favour of the people, who flocked to him in great numbers, and always found their requests answered: for he never dismissed any without present pledges of his favour, and further hopes for the future.

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During all this time of the war in Gaul, Pompey never discovered how on one side Cæsar conquered his enemies with the arms of Rome, and on the other subdued the Romans with the money which he had got from his enemies. But when Cæsar heard that the Belgæ, who were the most powerful of all the Gauls, and inhabited a third part of the coun-

^{*} That seems impossible. Three hundred surlongs make thirty-seven miles and a half. There must certainly be some errour in the text; and that there is so, is plain from Cæsar, who makes the distance to be no more than five miles. Plutarch without doubt wrote it thirty furlongs, but the copiers afterwards transcribed it three bundred.

try, had revolted, and that they had got together a great many thousand men in arms, he immediately directed his course that way with great expedition, and falling upon the enemy, as they were ravaging the country of the Gauls his allies, he foon defeated them, and put them to flight. For though their numbers were great, yet they made but a flender defence, fo that the marshes and deep rivers were made paffable to the Roman foot, by the vast quantity of dead bodies. Those revolters who dwelt upon the fea-coasts surrendered without fighting, and therefore he led his army against the Nervii, who are the most uncivilized and most warlike people of all in those parts. These live in a close woody country; and having lodged their children and their goods in a deep hollow within a large forest, they fell upon Cæsar with a body of fixty thousand men, before he was prepared for them, and while he was making his encampment. They foon routed his cavalry, and having furrounded the twelfth and feventh legions, killed all the officers; and had not Cæfar himfelf fnatched up a buckler, and forced his way through his own men, to come up to the Barbarians; or had not the tenth legion, when they faw him in danger, ran in from the tops of the hills, where they lay, and broke through the enemies ranks to rescue him, in all probability his army had been entirely cut off. But, through the influence of Cæfar's valour, the Romans in this conflict exerted more than ordinanary courage: yet with their utmost efforts they were not able to beat the enemy out of the field. but cut them off fighting in their own defence. For out of fixty thousand foldiers, not above five hundred furvived the battle; and of four hundred of their senators, not above three. When the Roman fenate had received news of this action, they voted facrifices and festivals to be celebrated for the space of fifteen days, which was longer than ever had

had been observed for any victory before. For the danger appeared great, because they were engaged with so many states at once, and the favour of the people to Cæsar made the victory more esteemed because he was conqueror. For he was now retired to his winter-quarters by the Po, where, after he had settled the affairs of Gaul, he resided in order

to profecute his defigns at Rome.

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Such as were candidates for offices used his affiftance, and were fupplied with money from him to bribe the people, and buy their votes; in return for which, when they were chosen, they did all they could to advance his power. But what was more confiderable, the most eminent and powerful men in Rome in great numbers made their court to him at Luca, as Pompey, and Craffus, and Appius the prætor of Sardinia, and Nepos the proconful of Spain; fo that there were upon the place at one time a hundred and twenty lictors, and more than two hundred fenators. Having confulted together, they came to this agreement, that Pompey and Craffus should be confuls again for the following year; that Cæfar should have a fresh supply of money, and that his command should be renewed to him for five years more. It feemed very abfurd to all thinking men, that those very persons who had received fo much money from Cæsar, should perfuade the senate to grant him more, as if he were in want; though indeed they did not fo much perfuade as compel the fenate, who at the fame time regretted what they were forced to decree. Cato was not present, for they had sent him off very seafonably into Cyprus; but Favonius, who was a zealous imitator of Cato, when he found he could do no good by opposition, broke out of the house, and loudly declaimed against these proceedings to the people. But none paid any attention to him; fome flighted him out of respect to Crassus and Pompey, others to gratify Cæsar, on the hopes of whole

whose favour alone their life seemed to depend. After this. Cæsar returned again to his forces in Gaul *, where he found that country involved in a dangerous war, two powerful nations of the Germans having lately passed the Rhine, and made inroads into it: one of them called the Unpetes, and the other the Tenchteri. Of the war with this people, Cæfar himself has given this account in his commentaries. The Barbarians having fent ambaffadors to treat with him, during the treaty fet upon him in his march, by which means with eight hundred men they routed five thousand of his horse, who did not suspect their coming. Afterwards they fent other ambaffadors to purfue the fame fraudulent practices; these he kept in custody, and led on his army against the Barbarians as judging it would betray too much eafiness, if he should keep faith with those who broke their promises, and could not be obliged by any league. Canusius says, that when the senate decreed festivals and facrifices for this victory, Cato declared it to be his opinion, that Cæfar ought to be given up into the hands of the Barbarians; that so the guilt which this breach of faith might otherwife bring upon the public, might be expiated by transferring the curse on him who was the occasion of it. those who passed the Rhine there were four hundred thousand cut off; the few who escaped were sheltered by the Sicambri, a people of Germany.

+ Cæsar took hold of this pretence to invade the

* Plutarch is here giving us an account of the war with the Usipetes, and Tenchteres, which ha pened under the consulship of Crassus and Pompey; but there were several considerable transactions which Plutarch has omitted, in a word, all that is related in Cæsar's third book of the war in Gaul.

† The enemies horse, who were not at the engagement, sheltered themselves among the Sicambri, to whom Cæsar sent his summons, requiring them to deliver up to him that body of horse which had engaged in a war against him; they replied, that the Rhine was the boundary of the Roman empire in those parts, and that as he would not allow the Germans to pass that river without his consent, so it was not reasonable in him to extend his dominions beyond it,

Germans.

Germans, being otherwise ambitious of glory, and especially of the honour of being the first man that should pass the Rhine with an army. He presently laid a bridge over it, though it was very wide, and in that place deeper than ordinary, and at the fame time rough and rapid, carrying down with its stream trunks of trees, and other timber, which much shocked and weakened the foundations of his bridge; but he drove great piles of wood into the bottom of the river above the bridge, both to refift the impression of such bodies, and to break the force of the torrent; and by this means he finished his bridge in an incredibly short space of time, it being the work but of ten days. In the passage of his army over it, he met with no opposition, the Suevi themselves, who are the most warlike people of all Germany, flying with their effects into the closest and most woody part of the vales. When he had burnt all the enemy's country, and encouraged those who had remained firm to the Roman interest, he went back into Gaul, after eighteen days stay in Germany.

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But his expedition into Britain gave the most fignal testimony of his courage; for he was the first who brought a navy into the western ocean, or who failed through the Atlantic with an army to make war; and though the island is of so incredible an extent, that it had given room to many historians to dispute, whether such an island really existed, or whether it was a mere name and siction; yet he attempted to conquer it, and to carry the Roman empire beyond the limits of the known world. He passed over thither twice from that part of Gaul which lies opposite to it, and in several battles which he fought, did more differvice to the enemy, than fervice to himself; for the islanders were so miserably poor, that they had nothing worth being plundered of. When he found himfelf unable to put fuch an end to the war as he

wished

wished, he was content to take hostages from the king, and to impose some taxes, and then quitted the island.

At his arrival in Gaul, he found letters which lay ready to be conveyed over the water to him, from his friends at Rome, to give him notice of his daughter's death, who died in labour of a child by Pompey. Both Cæsar and Pompey were much afflicted with her death; their friends too were greatly concerned, because that alliance was now quite broken, which had hitherto kept the commonwealth in peace and tranquillity; for the child also died within a few days after the mother The people took the body of Julia by force from the tribunes, and buried it in the Campus Martius.

* Cæsar's army was now grown very numerous, so that he was forced to divide it into several parts for the convenience of winter-quarters; therefore when he was gone towards Italy according to his custom, there was a sudden insurrection in Gaul, and great armies were on their march about the country, who attacked the Romans in their quarters, and attempted to make themselves masters of the forts where they lay. The greatest and strongest party of the rebels, under the command of Ambiorix, cut off Cotta and Titurius, with their army. After that the enemies invested a town, (where Quintus Cicero lay with his legion), with an army of sixty thousand men, and had al-

^{*} This army confifted of eight legions. He tells us himself, lib. v. that an excessive drought had caused a scarcity in the country, which constrained him to separate his troops for their better subsistence, and that he did not quit them till he saw them well secured, and settled in their quarters. The only thing that can possibly be condemned in him, was his fixing his quarters at too great a distance, which put it out of their power to assist one another in time, when there should be occasion. Cæsar seems to justify himself from that reproach in his sist hook, where he says that allethose legions, except one which was quartered at a greater distance, but in a quiet country, where no danger was to be seared, were posted within the compass of an hundred miles; but the geographers find it to be of a larger extent.

most taken it by storm, the Roman soldiers in it being all wounded, and having quite fpent themfelves by a vigorous defence beyond their natural strength. But Cæsar, who was at a great distance, having received notice of this, quickly got together seven thousand men, and hastened to relieve The besiegers being informed of his march raifed the fiege, and went with all their forces to meet him, despising the small number of his troops, and expecting an eafy conquest. Cæsar, to nourish their prefumption, seemed to avoid fighting, and continued retreating as if he had been afraid of them, till he found a place conveniently fituated for a few to engage against many, where he encamped. He restrained his soldiers from making any incursion on the enemy, and commanded them to raise the ramparts still higher, and to barricade the gates, that, by a show of fear, they might heighten the enemy's contempt of them; till at last they came without any order in great fecurity to make an attack, when he made a fally, and put them to flight with the loss of many men. This quieted the many commotions in those parts of Gaul; and Cæfar made a progress during the winter through feveral parts of the country, and with great vigilance provided against all innovations. At that time three legions came to him to supply the place of those he had lost; two of these Pompey lent him out of those under his command; the other was newly raised in that part of Gaul which is near the Po.

* After this the feeds of war, which had long fince been fecretly fown and fcattered in the more

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^{*} Plutarch passes over the whole sixth book of Czsar's commentaries, though it contains many considerable events that happened between the victory last mentioned and the affair with Vercingetorix, of which he is going to give an account; such as the defeat of the Treviri, Czsar's second passage over the Rhine, and the pursuit of Ambiorix.

distant parts of that country by the most powerful men in those warlike nations, shot up, and ripened into the greatest and most dangerous war that ever broke out there, both for the number of men in the vigour of their youth, the quantity of arms which were gathered from all parts, the vast funds of money laid up for this purpose, the strength of the towns, and the difficult fituation of the country. It being winter, the rivers were frozen, the woods covered with fnow, and the fields overflowed; fo that in some places the roads could not be discerned on account of the snow, and in others they were concealed by the overflowing of marshes and brooks. All these difficulties made it seem impracticable to Cæfar to make any attempt upon the rebels. Many states had revolted together; the chief of them were the Arverni and Carnutes; the general who had the fupreme command was Vercingetorix, whose father the Gauis had put to death on fuspicion of his aspiring to absolute power. He having disposed his army in feveral bodies, and set officers over them, drew in to his interest all the countries round about as far as those that lie upon the Avar; and having intelligence of the opposition which Cæfar met with at Rome, he thought to engage all Gaul in the war. And if he had done this a little later, when Cæfar was taken up with the civil wars, Italy had been thrown into as great a consternation as it was before by the Cimbri. But at this time Cæfar, who was of a genius naturally fitted to make a right use of all advantages in war, but more especially understood how to improve time, as foon as he heard of the revolt, returned immediately the same way he went, and showed the barbarians, by the quickness of his march in such a fevere feafon, that the army which was advancing against them was invincible. For in less time than one would have thought it credible that a courier or express should have come so far, he appeared with

with all his army. In his march he ravaged the country, demolished the forts, and received into his protection those who declared for him; till at last the Hedui opposed him, who before had styled themselves brethren to the Romans, and had been much honoured by them; but now they joined the rebels, to the great discouragement of Cæsar's army. Wherefore he removed thence, and passed the country of the Lingones, being defirous to reach the territories of the Sequani, who were his allies, and who are fituated next to Italy upon the confines. of Gaul. The enemy having followed him thither, attacked him, and furrounded his whole army with their vastly superior numbers. He engaged them with great refolution, and at length totally defeated them *. But he feems to have received some check at first; for the Arverni show to this day a swordhanging up in one of their temples, which they fay was taken from Cæfar. When it was shown him afterwards, he laughed at it; and when some of his friends were for having it taken down, he would not fuffer it, looking on it as a thing confecrated.

After the defeat, a great part of those who had: escaped, fled with their king into a town called Alesia; which Cæsar besieged, though for the height. of the walls, and number of those who were in garrison, it seemed impregnable. During the siege, he found himself exposed to greater danger than can be expressed. For the choicest men of Gaul, picked out of each nation, and well armed, came to relieve Alefia, to the number of three hundred thousand; nor were there in the town less than one hundred and feventy thousand; so that Cæsar being shut up betwixt two fuch armies, was forced to raife two walls, one toward the town, the other against the new fupplies, as knowing that if these forces should join, his affairs would be entirely ruined. danger that he underwent before Alefia, justly gain-

tracteasiri

This passage is very obscure in the original, and seems defective.

Hh 2

ed him great honour, and gave him an opportunity of showing more fignal instances of his valour and conduct, than any other battle ever did. One would wonder very much how he should engage and defeat fo many thousands of men without the town, and not be perceived by those within; but much more, that the Romans themselves, who guarded their wall which was next the town, should be strangers to it. For even they knew nothing of the victory, till they heard the cries of the men, and lamentations of the women, who were in the place, and had from thence feen the Romans at a distance earrying into their camp a great quantity of bucklers, adorned with gold and filver, many breastplates stained with blood, besides cups and tents made after the Gallic mode. So foon was this vast army diffipated, vanishing like a phantom or dream, the greatest part of them being killed upon the spot. Those who were in Alesia, after they had given themselves as well as Cæsar much trouble, furrendered at last: and Vercingetorix, who was the chief commander in the war, having put on his best armour, and adorned his horse with the most magnificent trappings, rode out of the gates, and took a turn about Cæfar as he was fitting; then quitting his horse, he threw off his armour, and laid himself quietly at Cæsar's feet, who committed him to custody, to be referved for a triumph.

Cæsar had long since designed to ruin Pompey, and Pompey him; for Crassus, who was the only person capable, in case either of them was overpowered, to make head against the other, had hitherto kept them in due bounds; but he being now slain in Parthia, the one wanted nothing to make himself the greatest man in Rome, but the fall of him who was so; nor had the other any way to prevent his own ruin, but by being beforehand with him whom he feared. Pompey indeed had

not

not been long under fuch apprehensions, having till that time despised Cæsar, as thinking it no difficult matter to crush him whom he himself had advanced. But Cæfar had entertained this defign from the beginning against his antagonist, and had retired like an expert wreftler, to prepare himfelf for the combat. He had improved the strength of his foldiery by exercifing them in the Gallic wars, and had heightened his own glory by his great actions, fo that he was now equal to Pompey in reputation and power. Nor did he let go any of those advantages which were now given him by Pompey himself, by the times, and the ill government of Rome, which was fuch that all who were candidates for offices publicly gave money, and without any shame bribed the people; who having received their pay, did not contend for their benefactors. with their bare fuffrages, but with bows, fwords, and flings; fo that they feldom parted without having stained the place of election with the blood of men killed upon the fpot, and the city was in a state of anarchy, like a ship without a pilot. The wifer part therefore wished that things which were. carried on with fo much tumult and fury, might end no worfe than in a monarchy. Some were fo bold as to declare openly, that the government was incurable but by a monarchy, and that they ought to take that remedy from the hands of the gentlest physician, meaning Pompey; who though in words he pretended to decline it, yet in reality used his utmost efforts to be declared dictator. Cato perceiving his defign, prevailed with the fenate to make him fole conful, that he might not aim at the dictatorship, being gratified with the offer of a more legal monarchy. They besides voted him the continuance of his provinces; for he had two, Spain, and all Africa, which he governed by his deputies, and maintained armies under him, at the yearly charge of a thousand talents out of the public treasury. H h 3

Upon this Cæsar also, by his proxies, demanded the consulship, and the continuance of his provinces. Pompey at first did not stir in it, but it was opposed by Marcellus and Lentulus, who had always hated Cæsar, and now did every thing, whether sit or unsit, which might disgrace and expose him. For they took away the freedom of Rome from the Neocomians, who were a colony that Cæsar had lately planted in Gaul; and Marcellus being consul, ordered one of the senators of that city, then at Rome, to be whipped; and told him, he laid that mark upon him to let him know he was no citizen of Rome, bidding him, when he went back, to

flow it Cafar.

After Marcellus's confulship was expired, Cæfar opened the treasures he had been heaping up in Gaul, and fuffered fuch as had any weight or interest in the government to draw from thence what fums they pleased. He discharged Curio, the tribune, from his great debts, and gave Paulus, then conful, one thousand five hundred talents *, with which he built a public hall joining to the forum, in the place where that of Fulvius had stood. Pompey, jealous of these preparations, now openly made interest, both by himself and his friends, to have a fuccessor declared to Cæsar, and sent to redemand those foldiers whom he had lent him to carry on the war in Gaul. Cæfar readily dismissed them, having first presented each soldier with two hundred and fifty drachmas +. Those who conducted them to Pompey, spread amongst the people no very favourable report of Cæfar, and flattered Pompey himself with false suggestions that he was wished for by Cæfar's army; telling him, that though his affairs at Rome were in an ill posture, through the envy and craft of his enemies, yet there the army was at his command, and upon their first entrance

¹⁵⁰⁰ talents is 289,500 pounds Sterling.

About eight pounds Sterling per man.

into Italy would declare for him, fo uneasy were they under Cæfar, who had engaged them in fo many hazardous expeditious, and fo fuspicious of him as aspiring to the monarchy. Upon this Pompey grew prefumptuous and carelefs, and neglected all warlike preparations, as fearing no danger, but attacked him with words and speeches only, thinking to conquer by a majority of votes. But this Cæfar flighted: for it is faid, that one of his captains, who was fent by him to Rome, standing before the fenate-house one day, and being told, that the fenate would not give Cæfar a longer time in his government, clapped his hand on the hilt of his fword, and faid, But this shall. Yet the demands. which Cæfar made appeared perfectly equitable; for he proposed that both Pompey and he should lay down their arms, that both should become private men, and each expect a reward of his fervices from the public; faying, that those who disarmed him, and at the fame time confirmed Pompey's power, only suppressed the one to establish the other in his tyranny. When Curio made these proposals to the people in Cæsar's name, he was highly applauded, and fome threw garlands upon him, and difmissed him as they do wrestlers, crowned with flowers. Antony, being then tribune, produced a letter sent from Cæsar on this occasion, and read it, though the confuls did what they could to oppose it. But Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, proposed in the senate, that if Cæsar did not lay down his arms within fuch a time, he should be voted an enemy; and the confuls putting it to the question, Whether Pompey should dismiss his soldiers? and again, Whether Cafar should disband his *? very

^{*} Dion says there was not a man for Pompey's disbanding his troops, and that on the contrary they all voted that Cæsar should dismiss his, except Cælius and Curio. And this is no wonder; Pompey was then at the gates of Rome with a powerful army, which was an effectual means to carry a majority in the senate,

few affented to the first, but almost all to the latter. But Anthony proposing again, that both should lay down their commissions, all unanimously agreed to it. Scipio was upon this very violent, and Lentulus the consul cried aloud, That they had need of arms, and not of suffrages against a robber; so that they were adjourned, and changed their robes

in token of grief for the diffension.

Afterwards there came other letters from Cæfar. which feemed yet more moderate; for he proposed to quit every thing else, and only to have Gallia Cifalpina, Illyricum, and two legions, till he should fland-a fecond time for the confulship. Cicero the orator, who was lately returned from Cilicia, endeavoured to reconcile the differences, and foftened Pompey, who was willing to comply in other: things, but not to allow him the foldiers. At last Cicero prevailed with Cæfar's friends, who were now more flexible, to accept of the provinces, and fix thousand foldiers only, and so to make up the quarrel. Pompey confented to this; but Lentulus. the conful would not hearken to it, but drove Antony and Curio * out of the fenate-house with difgrace; by which they afforded Cæfar the fairest. pretence to inflame the foldiers, by showing them two persons of such worth and authority, who were forced to escape in a common hired carriage. in the habits of flaves; for fo they difguifed themfelves when they fled out of Rome. Cæfar had not with him at that time above three hundred horfe, and five thousand, foot; for the rest of his army, which was left on the other fide of the Alps, was to be brought after him by persons commissioned. for that purpose. But he thought that to begin the: defign which he had then on foot, did not require many forces, and that he ought to take his first

^{*} Instead of Curio it should be read Quintus Cassius, as appears from what Plutarch himself says in the life of Antony, and Cæsar in the first book of the civil war.

step fo fuddenly, that the adverse party should be aftonished at his courage; for he esteemed it easier to aftonish them, if he came unawares, than fairly to conquer them, if he had alarmed them by his preparations. He therefore commanded his captains and other officers, to go only with their fwords in their hands, without any other arms, and make themselves masters of Ariminum, a confiderable city of Gaul, with as little noise and bloodshed as possible. He committed the care of the army to Hortenfius, and spent the day in public, and was a spectator of some combats of gladiators. A little before night he bathed, and then went into the hall, and converfed for some time with those he had invited to supper. When it began to grow dusky, he rose from table, and having complimented the company, he defired them to flay till he came back, which he faid, he should do very fpeedily. He had before this given private orders to some of his most intimate friends to follow him, not all the fame way, but fome one way, fome another, to avoid observation. He himself got into a hired carriage, and drove at first another way, but on a fudden turned towards Ariminum.

When he came to the river Rubicon, which parts the Cifalpine Gaul from the rest of Italy, he began to be much perplexed, now he was just entering upon danger; and his refolution staggered when he confidered coolly the difficulty of the attempt. This stopt his career for a while, and made him halt. Sometimes he stood meditating filently in the utmost fluctuation and uncertainty, every moment changing his opinion; fometimes he debated the matter very particularly with his friends who were about him, (of which number Afinius Pollio was one), computing how many calamities his paffing that river would bring upon mankind, and representing what an account of it would be transmitted to posterity. At last, rousing with a sudden ftart

start of courage, he resolved to deliberate no more, but to commit himself to fortune, using the proverb frequently in the mouths of those who attempt bold and desperate enterprises, The die is cast; with which words he passed the river. He then marched with fuch expedition, that before it was day he reached Ariminum, and took it. It is faid, that the night before he passed the river, he had an impious dream, for he dreamed that he committed incest with his own mother. As soon as Ariminum was taken, there was as it were a wide gate opened to war both by fea and land; for the limits of the provinces being transgressed, a total subversion of the laws followed. It feemed now that not the inhabitants only, as at other times, fled from place to place through fear and consternation, but that the very towns themselves left their stations, and fled for fuccour to each other. So that the city of Rome was over-run as it were with a deluge, by the conflux of people from all parts round about; and in fuch a tumult and confusion it could neither be governed by the authority of its magistrates, nor be quieted by eloquence and perfuasion, but was in danger of finking by its own weight; the opposition of passions and interests producing continually the most violent commotions. For those who were pleased with these changes would not remain quiet, but frequently meeting, as in fo great a city they necessarily must, with such as showed themselves fearful and dejected, occasioned perpetual quarrels by their great confidence and prefumption.

Pompey, though sufficiently of himself disturbed, was yet more perplexed by the clamours of others; some telling him that he justly suffered for having strengthened Cæsar's power to his own ruin and that of the commonwealth; others blaming him for permitting Cæsar to be insolently used by Lentulus, when he made so large concessions, and offered such reasonable proposals towards an accom-

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modation. Favonius bade him now stamp upon the ground; for once boafting in the fenate, he defired them not to trouble themselves about making any preparations for the war; for he himself, if Cafar should come, would with one stamp of his foot fill all Italy with soldiers. Yet still Pompey had more forces than Cæfar; but he was not permitted to purfue his own determination; but being continually alarmed with terrifying and false reports, as if the enemy was just at the gates and in possession of all, he was forced to give way, and was born downe by the common cry. He therefore declaring by an edict the state to be in danger, left the city, commanding the fenators to follow him, and forbidding any to ftay behind who would not be thought to prefer tyranny to their country and their liberty. The confuls prefently fled, without offering the usual facrifices; most of the senators hastily carrying off whatever came first to hand of their own goods, just as if they had been plundering their neighbours. Some, who before were strongly attached to Cæfar, were fo terrified that they quitted their own fentiments, and without any necessity were carried along by the common stream. It was a very melancholy view to fee the city toffed in thefe tumults, like a ship whose pilot has given her over, and defpairs of hindering her from striking on the next rock. Those who left the city, though their departure was on fo fad an occasion, yet esteemed the place of their exile to be their country for Pompey's fake, and fled from Rome as if it had been Cæfar's camp. At the fame time Labienus, a perfon who had been one of Cæfar's best friends, and his lieutenant, and one who had fought under him very bravely in the Gallic wars, deferted him, and went over to Pompey. Cæfar fent all his money and equipage after him, and then laid fiege to Corfinium, which was garrifoned with thirty cohorts under the command of Domitius. He in despair ordered

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dered a flave of his, who was his physician, to give him some poison. The flave accordingly gave him a dose, which he swallowed in hopes of being dispatched by it: but soon after, when he was told that Cæsar behaved with wonderful elemency towards those he took prisoners, he lamented his misfortune, and blamed the hastiness of his own resolution. But his physician encouraged him, by telling him that he had taken a sleeping, not a poisonous potion; with this he was very much pleased, and rising from his bed went presently over to Cæsar, who pardoned him; but he afterwards revolt-

ed to Pompey.

When these things came to be known at Rome, the spirits of such as remained in the city were wonderfully raifed, and many of those who had fled returned to their habitations. In the mean time Cæfar's army being thus reinforced by Domitius's foldiers, as likewife by those Pompey had placed in garrison in the several towns in those parts, became now fo strong and formidable, that he advanced against Pompey himself, who did not stay for his coming, but fled to Brundusium; and having fent the confuls before with the army to Dyrrachium, he foon after, upon Cæfar's approach, put to fea, as shall be more particularly mentioned in his life. Cæfar would have immediately purfued him, but wanted shipping, and therefore went back to Rome, having without bloodshed made himself master of all Italy in the space of fixty days. When he came thither, he found the city more quiet than he expected, and many fenators upon the place, to whom he addressed himfelf with great courtefy and deference, defiring them to fend to Rompey to treat of an accommodate tion upon reasonable conditions. But nobody complied with this proposal; whether out of fear of Pompey, whom they had deferted, or because they thought Cæfar did not mean what he faid, but only

ly spoke thus to preserve an appearance of candour and moderation. Afterwards, when Metellus the tribune would have hindered him from taking money out of the public treasury, and quoted some laws against it, Cæsar replied, Arms and laws do not well agree; and if you are displeased with my conduct, retreat quietly, for war will not admit fuch freedom of speech. When I have laid down my arms, and entered into terms of peace, then come and harangue as you please: and this I tell you in diminution of my own just right; for indeed you are my subject, as are all those who have appeared against me, and are now in my power. Having faid this to Metellus, he went to the doors of the treafury, and the keys being not to be found, he fent for smiths to force them open. Metellus again making refistance, and fome encouraging him in it, Cæfar raifing his voice, threatened to kill him, if he gave him any further disturbance: And this, said he, you know, young man, is harder for me to say than to do. These words made Metellus withdraw for fear, and gave Cæfar an opportunity of being eafily and readily supplied with all things necessary for the war.

Soon after this he marched into Spain, with a refolution first to remove Afranius and Varro, Pompey's lieutenants, and to make himself master of the army and provinces under them; which when he had done, he thought he then might more securely advance against Pompey, when he had no enemy left behind him. In this expedition his person was often in danger from ambuscades, and his army from want of provisions; however, he did not desist from pursuing the enemy, provoking them to sight, and besieging them, till by main force he made himself matter of their camps, and their forces: only the officers got off, and fled to Pompey.

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When Cæfar came back to Rome, Piso his father-in-law advised him to fend messengers to Pom-Vol. IV. I i pey,

pey, to treat of a peace; but Isauricus, to ingratiate himself with Cæsar, spoke against it. Cæsar after this being chosen dictator by the senate, immediately called home the exiles, restored to their honours and privileges the children of fuch as had fuffered under Sylla, and eased those who were in debt by retrenching some part of the interest. He also made some other regulations of the same nature, but not many; for within eleven days he refigned his dictatorship, and having declared himfelf conful with Servilius Isauricus, set out to profecute the war. He marched fo fast, that he left all his army behind him, except fix hundred chofen horse, and five legions, with which he put to sea in the very middle of winter, about the beginning of the month January, which the Athenians call Posideon, and having passed the Ionian sea took Oricum and Apollonia, and fent back the ships to Brundusium *, to bring over the foldiers that were left behind in the march. These foldiers, whose bodies were enfeebled and whose spirits were exhausted by the number of battles they had fought, as they marched along uttered their complaints against Cæsar after this manner: When at last, and where will Cafar let us be quiet? He carries us from place to place, and uses us as if we were invulnerable and insensible. Even iron itself is worn out by blows, and bucklers and breast-plates that have been so long used, require Some respite. Doth not Casar gather from our wounds, that we are mortal men whom he commands, and that we are subject to the same calamities and diseases as other mortals are? It is impossible even for a god to force the winter-feason, or to hinder the storms, when they rage; yet he pushes forward, as if he were not pursuing, but

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^{*} He sent them back under the conduct of Calenus. But he sailing too late lost the opportunity of the wind, and sell in with Bibulus, who took thirty of his ships; upon which he vented his rage, for he burnt them all with their pilots and sailers, on purpose to intimidate the rest. Ces. lib. iii.

flying from an enemy. This was their discourse as they marched leifurely towards Brundusium. But when they came thither, and found that Cæfar was gone off before them, they changed their fentiments, and reproached themselves as traitors to their They now railed at their officers for general. marching fo flowly, and placing themselves on the promontories by the sca-side overagainst Epirus, looked out endeavouring to descry the vessels which were to transport them to Cæsar. He in the mean time was posted in Apollonia, but had not an army with him able to fight the enemy, the forces from Brundusium being so long in coming. In this distress and perplexity he ventured upon a dangerous project, which was to go in a veffel of twelve oars, without any one's knowledge, to Brundusium, though the fea was at that time covered with a vast fleet of the enemy. He embarked in the nighttime in the habit of a flave, and throwing himfelf down like fome inconfiderable person, lay along at the bottom of the veffel. The river Anius * was to carry them down to the fea; and there used to blow a gentle gale every morning from the land, which made it very calm towards the mouth of the river, by driving the waves forward; but that night there fprung a strong wind from the sea, which overpowered that from the land; fo that by the violence of the stream, and the resistance of the fea against it, the river became very rough, the waves dashing together with a great noise, and forming fuch dangerous eddies, that the pilot could not make good his passage, but ordered his failors to turn back. Cæfar upon this discovered himself, and taking the pilot by the hand, who was furprifed to fee him there, faid, Go on boldly, my friend, and fear nothing; thou carriest Casar and Casar's fortune along with thee. The mariners, when they

^{*} This is a river in Epire. Strabo calls it Aous, and fays it ran within ten furlongs of Apollonia.

heard that, forgot the storm; and laying all their strength to their oars, did what they could to force their way down the river. But when it was to no purpose, and the vessel now took in much water, Cæsar sinding himself in so great danger in the very mouth of the river, permitted the master, though much against his will, to turn back. When he was returned to his camp, his soldiers ran to him in whole troops, and expressed how much they were concerned, that he should think himself not strong enough to get a victory by their sole assistance, but would give himself so much anxiety, and run so great a hazard, for the sake of those who were absent, as if he could not trust to them who were with him.

Soon after this, Antony came over with the forces from Brundusium *; which encouraged Cæsar to give Pompey battle, though he was encamped very advantageously, and furnished with plenty of provisions by sea and land, whilst he himself, who at first had been but ill stocked, was now at last extremely pinched for want of necessaries; so that his foldiers were forced to dig a kind of root which grew there, and tempering it with milk, to feed on it. Sometimes they made loaves of it, and in their incursions on the enemy's outguards would throw in those loaves, telling them, that as long as the earth produced fuch roots, they would not ceafe to befrege Pompey. But Pompey took what care he could, that neither the loaves, nor the words, should reach the rest of his men; for they already were disheartened at the fierceness and hardiness of their enemies, and looked upon them as partaking of the favage nature of wild beafts. There were continual skirmishes a-

^{*} Antony and Calenus embarked on board the vessels which had escaped Bibulus, eight hundred horse, and sour legions, that is, three old ones, and one that had been newly raised; and when they were landed, Antony sent back the ships to transport the rest of the forces that were lest behind.

bout Pompey's trenches, in all which Cæfar had. the better, except one; when his men were forced to fly in fuch a manner, that he had like to have loft his camp. For Pompey made fuch a vigorous fally on them, that not one of them stood his ground: the trenches were filled with dead bodies: and many fell upon their own ramparts, being closely pursued by the enemy. Cæsar met them, and would have turned them back, but could not. When he went to lay hold of the colours *, those who carried them threw them down, so that the enemies took thirty-two of them. He himself narrowly escaped with his life; for taking hold of a tall lufty foldier that was flying by him, he bid him stand, and face about; but the fellow, full of apprehenfions from the danger he was in, began to handle his fword as if he would strike Cæsar; and he would have done it, had not Cæfar's armourbearer prevented the blow, by chopping off his arm.

Cæsar's affairs were so desperate at that time, that when Pompey, either through fear, or his ill fortune, did not give the finishing stroke to that great action, but retreated after he had shut up the enemy within their camp, Cæsar, upon his return, said to his friends, The victory to-day had been on our enemies side, if they had had a general who knew how to conquer. When he was retired into his tent, he laid himself down to sleep; but that night was the most melancholy that he ever spent; he being perplexed and distressed in his thoughts for his ill con-

^{*} What Plutarch mentions here did not happen at the time when Pompey attacked the entrenchments, but at another attack which Cæfar made upon a post, where he understood that one of Pompey's legions lay. This proved a sharp engagement; and Cæfar was worsted, not so much by the valour of the enemy, as the separation of his own troops, the diadvantage of the place, and the disorder among his soldiers. He says himself, that in these two attacks he lost nine hundred and sixty foot foot, and sour hundred horse, among whom were several Roman knights, and thirty tribunes and centurions. lib. iii.

duct in this war: for when he had a large country before him, and all the wealthy cities of Macedonia and I heffaly, he had neglected to carry the war thither, and had fat down by the fea-fide, whilft his enemies had fuch a powerful fleet; fothat he feemed rather to be befieged with want of necessaries, than to besiege others with his arms. Being thus distracted in his thoughts by the view of the ill posture of his affairs, he raised his camp, with a defign to advance towards Scipio, who lay in Macedonia; for he hoped either to draw Pompey where he must fight without the advantage he now had of supplies from the sea, or to overpower Scipio, who would not be able to withstand him alone. This animated Pompey's army and officers fo far, that they were for pursuing Cæsar, as one that was worsted and flying. But Pompey was afraid to hazard a battle, on which fo much depended; and being himself provided with all necessaries for a considerable time, he thought to tire out and waste the vigour of Cæfar's army, which could not last long; for his best foldiers, though they had much experience, and showed an irrefistible courage in all engagements, yet were incapacitated by age to bear the fatigue of their frequent marches, changing their camps, affaulting of towns, and long watches; their bodies were become feeble and inactive, and their alacrity failed with their strength. Besides, it is said, that a pestilential disease, occafioned by their irregular diet, raged in Cæfar's army; and what was of greatest moment, he was neither furnished with money nor provisions, so that in a little time he must needs fall of himself. For these reasons Pompey had no mind to fight him; but he was commended for it by none but Cato, who was zealous to preferve his fellow-citizens. For when he faw the dead bodies of those who had fallen in the last battle on Cæsar's fide to the number of a thousand, he went away, covered his face, and wept. The rest reproached and teafed Pompey for declining to fight, calling him Agamemnon, and the King of kings, to infinuate that he had no mind to lay down his fovereign. authority, but was pleased to see so many great commanders waiting on him, and paying their attendance at his tent; Favonius, who affected Cato's freedom of speech, complained bitterly, that they should eat no figs that year at Tusculum, because of Pompey's ambition. Afranius, who was lately returned out of Spain, and by reason of the ill campaign he had made, was suspected by Pompey to have betrayed the army for money, asked him, Why he did not fight that merchant who had bought his provinces? Pompey was compelled by this kind of language to give Cæfar battle, though against his own fentiments, and in order to it purfued him.

Cæsar had found great difficulties in his march; for no country would supply him with provisions, his reputation being very much sunk since his last defeat. But when he had taken Gomphi *, a town of Thessaly, by assault, his soldiers not only found provisions, but also a very singular remedy for their distempers. For meeting there with plenty of wine, they drank freely of it, and indulged themselves afterwards in revelling and rioting as they marched along; and this high living so altered their whole habit of body, that they were delivered from the maladies which had hitherto oppressed them.

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When the two armies came into Pharsalia, and were incamped there, Pompey returned to his former sentiments, and the rather because he had had a dream which seemed a very unfavourable pre-

fage.

^{*} Androphenus or Androsthenes commanded in the place. Cæsar, who saw how material it was to his service to make himself master of it before Pompey or Scipio could come up to relieve it, was no sooner arrived, but he attacked it on every side at once. The assault began about three in the asternoon, and though the walls were very high, he carried it before sun-set.

fage *. His friends however were very confident of fuccess, and anticipated the victory in their imaginations, fo that Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio, quarrelled which should succeed Cæsar in the pontificate: and many fent to Rome to take houses fit to accommodate confuls and prætors, as being fure of entering upon those offices as foon as the battle was over +. The cavalry especially were eager to fight, priding themselves on the splendour of their arms, the good condition of their horses, the comeliness of their persons, and the superiority of their number, for they were feven thousand against one thousand of Cæfar's. Nor was their infantry better matched, there being forty-five thousand of Pompey's against twenty-two thousand of the enemy. Cæsar assembled his foldiers, and told them, that Cornificius was coming up to them with two legions, and that fifteen coborts more under Calenus were posted at Megara and Athens; he asked them, whether they would stay till they joined them, or would hazard the battle by themfelves? They all befought him not to delay, but to contrive if possible to entice the enemy to an engagement. When he was facrificing for the luftration of his army, upon the death of the first victim. the augur told him that within three days he should come to a decifive action. Cæfar asked him, Whether he faw any thing in the entrails which promifed an happy event? That, faid the priest, you can best anfwer yourself; for the gods signify a great alteration in the present posture of affairs; if therefore you think yourself happy now, expect worse fortune; if unhappy, hope for better. The night before the battle, as he walked the rounds about midnight, he faw a light in the air resembling a torch flaming with great

* See the life of Pompey, p. 208.

[†] Cæsar has put this contest in a very ridiculous light, as may be seen in the remarks upon the life of Pompey. Their thoughts ran not so much upon conquering, as on the manner of sharing and enjoying the fruits of their conquests.

brightness.

brightness, which seemed to pass over his camp, and fall into Pompey's; and when Cæfar's foldiers came to relieve the watch in the morning, they perceived a panic tumult among the enemies. However he was fo far from expecting to fight that day, that he gave the fignal for decamping, and defigned to march towards Scotusa *. But when the tents were taken down, his fcouts rode up to him, and told him the enemy were coming down in order to give him battle. With this he was very much pleafed, and having performed his devotions to the gods, he drew up his army, dividing it into three bodies. Domitius Calvinus commanded the centre, Antony the left wing, and he himself the right, being refolved to fight at the head of the tenth legion. But when he faw the enemy's cavalry drawn up against him, being struck with their number and magnificent appearance, he gave orders that fix cohorts from the rear of the army should secretly advance to him; these he posted behind the right wing, and instructed them what they should do, when the enemy's horse came to charge. On the other fide Pompey commanded the right wing +, Domitius the left, and Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, the main body. The whole weight of the cavalry was. in the left wing, for they defigned to encompass the

o been oils to fire

^{*} Cæsar perceiving there was no attacking Pompey, who was commodiously posted on the higher ground, without great disadvantage, and despairing to draw him to an engagement, thought it most convenient to remove, hoping by his frequent decampings to provide better for his troops, and harass his enemies, and perhaps obtain a favourable opportunity of fighting, which indeed happened sooner than he expected, for they had hardly struck their tents when they observed Pompey marching out of his entrenchments.

[†] Cæsar tells us the quite contrary; he says Pompey was on the left. "Pompey was on the left wing with the two legions sent back to him by Cæsar. On the right was posted the legion of Cilicia, with the cohorts brought by Afranius out of Spain, which he esteemed the slower of his army; Scipio commanded the main body, which was composed of the Syrian legions." He does not name the officer who had the command on the right, unless he would have it understood to be Afranius.

right of the enemy, and press that part most which the general himself commanded, thinking that no body of foot could be fo deep as to bear fuch a shock, but that they must necessarily be broken to pieces upon the first impression of so strong a body of cavalry. When they were ready on both fides to give the fignal for battle, Pompey commanded his foot who were in the front to stand their ground, and without breaking their order receive quietly the enemy's first attack, till they came within javelin's cast. Cæsar blamed this conduct, and said, Pompey was not aware that the first charge, if it is brifk and fierce, gives weight to every ftroke, and inflames the courage of the foldiers, the refolution of each being animated and increased by the rapid motion of the whole army. He was now advancing with his forces, and just ready to engage, when he found one of his captains, a trufty and experienced foldier, encouraging his men to exert themselves to the utmost. Cæfar called him by his name, and faid, What bopes, Caius Crassinius? How stands our courage? Craffinius stretched out his hand, and cried with a loud voice, We shall conquer nobly, Cafar; and this day I will deferve your praises either alive or dead. With these words he immediately ran in upon the enemy at the head of his company, confifting of a hundred and twenty men, where he did great execution, and was still pressing forwards, and forcing his way, when he received a wound in his mouth, from a fword pushed with such force, that the point. came out at the nape of his neck.

Whilst the foot was thus engaged in the main battle, Pompey's horse advanced from the left wing with great confidence of success, and opened their ranks very wide, that they might surround the right wing of Cæsar: but before they could engage, the fix cohorts which Cæsar had posted in the rear,

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made up to them *, and did not dart their javelins at a distance, nor strike at their thighs and legs, as they used to do in close engagement, but aimed at their faces; for thus Cæfar had instructed them, in hopes that those gay young men, who were in the flower of their age and height of their beauty, and who had not been used to battles and wounds, would not fland an attack of this kind, nor bear at the same time the shock of the present danger, and the apprehension of future deformity. This design fucceeded; for they were fo far from bearing the strokes of the javelins, that they could not stand the fight of them, but turned about, and covered their faces to fave them. Having thus broke their ranks. they fled away in great confusion, by which they occasioned the ruin of the whole army; for those cohorts, as foon as they had broke and dispersed them, immediately furrounded the infantry, and charging them in the rear foon cut them to pieces.

Pompey, who commanded the other wing of the army, when he saw his cavalry thus broken and slying, was no longer himself; nor did he now remember, that he was Pompey the Great, but like one whom the gods had deprived of his senses, and struck with some fatal blow, he retired to his tent without spreaking a word, and there sat still, expecting the event, till the whole army was defeated, and the enemy appeared upon the ramparts, where they closely engaged with his men who were posted there to defend them. Then he sirst seemed to have recovered his senses, and cried out, What, into my camp too? And, without saying any thing more, he laid aside his general's habit, and putting on such cloaths as might best favour his slight,

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^{*} What Plutarch tells us here, that the fix cohorts of Cæsar sell upon Pompey's horse without giving them time to engage, is contradicted by Cæsar himself, who says, that they engaged his right wing, and obliged his cavalry to give ground. lib. iii. de bel. civil.

privately made his escape. What fortune hemet with afterwards, how he went for shelter to Egypt, and was murdered there, we shall particularly relate in his life.

Cæfar, when he came to view Pompey's camp, and faw fo many of his enemies dead upon the ground, and others dying, faid with a figh, This they would have; to this necessity they reduced me; and Caius Casar, after so many important victories obtained, would have been judged and condemned as a criminal, had he disbanded his army. Afinius Pollio fays that Cæfar spoke those words then in Latin, which he afterwards wrote in Greek: that those who were killed at the taking of the camp, were most of them slaves; and that in the battle there fell not above fix thoufand foldiers *. Cæfar incorporated most of the foot whom he took prisoners, in his own legions. and pardoned feveral persons of quality, and amongst the rest Brutus, who afterwards killed him. Brutus did not immediately appear after the battle was over, which gave Cæfar great uneafiness; but he was extremely pleafed when he faw him fafe, furrendering himself to him. There were many prodigies that foretold this victory; but the most fignal was that at Tralles. In the temple of victory there was a statue of Cæsar; the soil on which the temple stood was naturally hard and dry, and the pavement was of very hard stone; yet it is said that a palm-tree shot up near the pedestal of this statue. In the city of Padua, one Caius Cornelius, a man well skilled in divination, and a fellowcitizen and friend of Livy the historian, happened to be making some observations on the flight of birds that very day when the battle was fought:

^{*} Cæsar says there fell about fifteen thousand of the enemy, and that he took above twenty-four thousand prisoners; that he took eight eagles, and a hundred and eighty standards; and that on his side the loss amounted to no more than about two hundred soldiers, and thirty centurions.

and first, he pointed out the exact time of the battle, and said to those who were by him, Now the contest is approaching to its decision, and the men are engaged. When he looked a second time upon the birds, and observed the omens, he leaped as if he had been inspired, and cried out, Thou, Cæsar, art the conquerour. This greatly surprised the standersby; but he took the crown which he had on, from his head, and swore he would never wear it again till the event should give authority to his art. This Livy affirms for a truth.

Cæfar, as a monument of his victory, gave the Theffalians their liberty, and then went in purfuit of When he was arrived in Afia, to grati-Pompey. fy Theopompus, who had made a collection of fables, he enfranchifed the Cnidians his countrymen, and remitted one third of the taxes to all the Afia-When he came to Alexandria, where Pompey was already murdered, he turned from Theodotus, who presented him with his head, but took his fignet, and wept over it. Those of Pompey's friends who had been taken by the king of Egypt as they were straggling in those parts, he treated with great kindness, and brought over to his interest. He wrote letters to Rome, wherein he fignified to his triends, that the greatest advantage and pleasure be found by the victory was, that he every day faved the lives of some Romans, who had been in arms against him. As to the war in Egypt, some fay it was dangerous and dishonourable, and not at all necessary, but occasioned only by his passion for Cleopatra: others blamed the ministers, and especially the eunuch Photinus, who was the king's chief favourite, who had lately put Pompey to death, and banished Cleopatra, and was now contriving privately the destruction of Cæsar; to prevent which, Cæsar from that time began to fit up whole nights under pretence of drinking, for the greater fecurity of his person. It is certain, that he was intolerably VOL. IV. Kk and

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and openly infolent to Cæfar, both in his words and actions; for when Cæfar's foldiers had musty and unwholesome corn measured out to them, Photinus told them, they must take it, and be contented, fince they were fed at another's cost. He ordered that the king's table should be served with wooden and earthen dishes, and faid, Cæsar had all the gold and filver in pawn for a debt. For the present king's father owed Cæsar seventeen millions five hundred thousand drachmas. Cæsar had formerly remitted to his children the rest, but thought fit to demand the ten millions at that time, to maintain his army. Photinus advised him to go away for the present, and take care of his more important affairs, telling him, that when he had finished them, he might return, and would receive the money with thanks besides. Cæsar replied, that he did not want Egyptians to be his counsellors, and foon after privately fent for Cleopatra from her retirement. That princess accompanied only with Apollodorus the Sicilian got into a little skiff, and in the dusk of the evening landed near the palace. When she found it would be almost impossible to get in without being discovered, she bethought herself of this stratagem: she rolled herself up in a carpet, where the lay at her full length, and Apollodorus, having tied it fast round, carried it on his back through the castle-gates to Cæsar's apartment. Cæsar was first struck with this contrivance of Cleopatra, which was an argument of her wit; and he was afterwards fo charmed with her conversation and graceful behaviour, that he reconciled her to her brother, and made her partner in the government. A festival was kept for joy of this reconciliation; and Cæfar's barber, a fellow whose excessive fear made him ever upon the watch, fo that he was continually prying into all corners of the court, and listening with restless curiosity and anxiety after every thing that passed there, discovered that a plot

was carrying on against Cæfar by Achillas, general of the king's forces, and Photinus the eunuch. Cæsar upon the first intelligence of it set a guard upon the hall where the feast was kept, and killed Achillas escaped to the army, and raifed a very dangerous war against Cæsar, who had enough to do to defend himfelf with a very small force against a strong city on the one hand, and a powerful army on the other *. The first difficulty he met with, was want of water +; for the enemies had turned the pipes. Another was, the lofs of his fleet, which he was forced to burn himfelf, toprevent its falling into the enemy's hands; and the flames unluckily spread fo far as to destroy the famous library of Alexandria. A third was, that in an engagement near Pharos he leaped from the mole into a skiff t, to assist his foldiers who were in

^{*} But he was in more imminent danger before that, when he was attacked in the palace by Achillas, who had made himself master of Alexandria. Cæsar gives us a description of this action towards the latter end of the third book of the civil wars.

⁺ Alexandria was vaulted underneath, and full of aqueducts, wherein they received the water from the Nile, and from thence conveyed it to the houses of the inhabitants, who kept it in refervoirs and cifterns, where it grew fine, and became fit for use. The masters. of those houses and their families drank of that water, but the common people were forced to drink the running water, which was foul and unhealthy, for there were no fprings or fountains in the city. As the river was in the power of the enemy, they resolved to cut the water off from Cæsar: to this end they stopped up all the conduits through which it was conveyed into that part of the town which wasin his possession; and not content with that, they were at the pains by the help of wheels and machines to raife the fea-water, and noured it down upon Cæsar's reservoirs and cisterns. This distressed them very much at first, but they soon found out a remedy; for Cæsar ordered them to dig for wells, and they went so cheerfully about it, laying a-fide all other business, that in a night's time they met with a sufficient quantity of fresh water, which rendered all the pains the enemy hadbeen at ineffectual. Caf. bell. Alex.

[†] Plutarch in this place confounds facts, which deferve to be diftinguished, and related particularly. At first there was a general naval engagement. After this Cæsar attacked the island, and last of all the mole, and it was in this attack Cæsar was under the difficulty mentioned here by Plutarch.

danger: when the Egyptians pressed him on every side, he threw himself into the sea, and with much difficulty swam off. It is said that at the time when he slung himself into the sea, he had many papers in his hand, which, though he was continually darted at, and forced to keep his head often under water, yet he did not let go, but held them up safe, from wetting in one hand, whilst he swam with the other. In the mean time his skiff, which he had just quitted, sunk with all that were on board. At last the king having joined Achillas and his party, Cæsar engaged and conquered them; many fell in that battle, and the king himself was never seen asterwards.

Upon this, he made Cleopatra queen of Egypt *, who foon after had a fon by him, whom the Alexandrians called Cafario; and then he departed for Syria. Thence he paffed into Afia, where he heard that Domitius Calvinus, whom he had appointed governour of Asia Minor, was overthrown by Pharnaces, fon of Mithridates, and forced to fly out of Pontus with an handful of men; and that, Pharnaces purfued the victory fo eagerly, that he was already mafter of Bithynia and Cappadocia, and was preparing to invade Armenia the Lefs; in order to which he invited all the kings and tetrarchs in those parts to rife, and unite against the Romans, Cæfar immediately marched against him with three legions, fought him near Zella +, drove him out of Pontus, and totally destroyed his army. When he. gave Amintius, a friend of his at Rome, an account of this action, to express the quickness and dispatch of it, he used these words, I came, I saw, I con-

† The description of this battle is well worth reading, as it is reated by Cæsar, who describes the temerity of Pharnaces in its proper colours.

^{*} Cæsar did not confer the crown of Egypt on Cleopatra solely, but divided it between her and her younger brother, according to her father's provision in his last will, of which the Romans were made executors.

quered; which in Latin being expressed by three words only, all of the fame form and termination. have a gracefulness and brevity not easily to be imitated in another language. Hence he fet out for Italy, and came to Rome at the end of that year for which he had been a fecond time chosen dictator, (though that office had never before been annual), and was elected conful for the next. However he was very much condemned, because when fome of his foldiers had in a mutiny killed Cofconius and Galba, who had been prætors, he punished them no otherwise than by calling them citizens, instead of fellow-foldiers *, and likewise gave each man a thousand drachmas, beside a share of some lands in Italy. He was also reflected on for Dolabella's extravagance, Amintius's covetousness, Antony's debauchery +, and the profuseness of Cornificius, who having got possession of Pompey's house pulled it down, and rebuilt it, because he thought it not magnificent enough for him. These things highly difgusted the Romans; but though Cæsar was not ignorant of them, nor at all approved them. his political views obliged him to make use of such instruments.

After the battle of Pharfalia, Cato and Scipio fled into Africa, and there, with the affiftance of King Juba, got together a confiderable force, which Cæfar refolved to engage. In order to it, he paffed into Sicily in the very midst of winter; and to deprive his officers of all hopes of delay there, he encamped close by the sea-side, and as soon as ever

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^{*} But by this appellation they were cashiered from the service.

[†] Xylander and Cruserius are with good reason of opinion that there is a transposition in Plutarch's text, and that it ought to be read "the profuseness of Cornisicius, and Antony's debauchery, who having, &c." For it was not Cornisicius, but Antony, who got the forseiture of Pompey's house, where he spent his time in a continued course of debauchery, as is evident from the second philippic of Cicero, and even from Plutarch himself in some passages in the life of Antony.

he had a fair wind, put to fea with three thousand foot, and a few horse *. When he had landed them, he went back privatley under great apprehensions for the rest of his army; but he met them upon the sea, and brought them all to his camp. There he was informed, that the enemy relied much upon an ancient oracle which declared, that the family of the Scipio's should be always victorious in Africa. There was in his army, a man, otherwife mean and contemptible, but of the house of the Africani, whose name was Scipio Salutio: this man Cæfar put at the head of his army in every encounter, with the title of gene-It is difficult to determine whether he did this merely to ridicule Scipio, who commanded the enemy, or with a ferious intention to make the prediction favourable to himfelf. He was obliged often. to fet upon the enemy, and skirmish with them; for he wanted both victuals for his men, and forage for the horses. So that he was forced to feed them with a fea-weed, having washed it to take off its faltness, and mixed it with grass to give it a more agreeable tafte. He was forced to make this shift. because the Numidians, in great numbers, and well. mounted, commanded the whole country.

Cæsar's cavalry being one day unemployed, diverted themselves with seeing an African, who entertained them with a dance, and played upon the pipe to admiration; they were so taken with this, that they alighted, and gave their horses to their servants, when on a sudden the enemy surrounded them, killed some, pursued the rest, and fell in with them into their camp; and had not Cæsar himself and Asinius Pollio come in to their assistance, and put a stop to their slight, the war had been then at an end. In another engagement,

^{*} Hirtius fays that he embarked fix legions and two thousand horse. But he landed at first with only three thousand foot and an hundred and fifty horse, the ships which carried the rest of his army having been separated by contrary winds.

where the enemy had the advantage, Cæfar took an enfign, who was running away, by the neck, and forcing him to face about, faid, Look, there is the enemy! Scipio flushed with this success at first, had a mind to come to one decifive action: wherefore leaving Afranius and Juba in their two feparate camps not far distant, he marched himself to. wards I hapfus, where he built a fort above the lake, which he defigned as a place of fecurity and retreat to them when they came to an engagement. Whilst Scipio was thus employing himself, Cæsar with incredible dispatch made his way through thick woods to some passages which were left unguarded, and coming fuddenly upon him, attacked one part of his army in the rear, and another in the front, and put them all to flight; then improving his opportunity and the favour of fortune, he in a moment took Afranius's camp, and destroyed that of the Numidians, Juba, their king, being glad to fave himself by flight; so that in a small part of a day he made himself master of three camps, and killed fifty thousand of the enemy, with the loss only of fifty men. This is the account some give of that fight: others fay he was not in the action, but that he was taken with his usual distemper just as he was drawing up his army. He perceived the approaches of it, before it had too far disordered his fenses; and as foon as he began to shake, he was removed into a neighbouring fort, where he reposed himself.

Of the great men who had been consuls or prætors, and who were taken after the fight, some were put to death by Cæsar, others killed themselves. Cato had undertaken to defend Utica, and for that reason was not in the battle. The desire which Cæsar had to take him alive, made him hasten thither. Upon notice that he had killed himself, it is certain that Cæsar was much discomposed, but for what reason, is not so well agreed: yet this he

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faid. Cato, I envy thee thy death, because thou envieds me the honour of faving thy life. Yet, after all this, the discourse he wrote against Cato after his death. is no great proof of his kindness, or of an inclination to show him any favour. For is it probable that he would have been tender of his life, who was fo bitter against his memory? Yet from his: clemency to Cicero, Brutus, and many others who had engaged against him, some have guessed that Cæfar's book was not composed so much out of hatred to Cato, as from a political pique and ambition. Cicero, it feems, had written an encomium upon Cato, and called it by his name; and a difcourse written by so great an orator, upon so excellent a subject, was, as it is natural to suppose, very generally and eagerly read. This touched Cæfar to the quick; for he looked upon a panegyric on his enemy, who chose rather to kill himself than fall into his hands, as a fatire against himself; and therefore he published an answer to it, containing a collection of accusations against that great man, and called the book Anticato. Those discourses have to this day each of them their feveral admirers, as men are differently inclined to the party of one or the other.

Cæsar upon his return to Rome gave the people a pompous account of his victory, telling them, that he had subdued a country, which would supply the public every year with two hundred thousand Attic medimni * of corn, and three million pounds of oil. He was allowed three triumphs, one for Egypt, another for Pontus, and a third for Africa. In the title of the last no mention was made of Scipio, but only of Juba, whose little son was then led in triumph, and whose captivity proved exceedingly fortunate to him; for of a barbarous Numidian, he came by this means to be reckoned in the number of the most learned Greek.

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^{*} A medimnus is about four pecks.

historians. After these triumphs, he distributed rewards to his soldiers, and treated the people with magnificent feasts and shows. At one of these feasts he had twenty-two thousand tables; and he entertained the people with combats of gladiators and sea-sights in honour of his daughter Julia, long since dead. When those shows were over, an account was taken of the citizens, who from three hundred and twenty thousand *, were now reduced to an hundred and fifty thousand. So great a waste had the civil war made in Rome alone, not to mention what the other parts of Italy and the provinces had suffered.

He was now chosen a fourth time conful, and went into Spain against Pompey's sons; they were

* There are no less than three considerable faults in this single pasfage, as Rualdus has observed. The first is where it is said that Cafar took an account of the people. Seutonius says not a word of it, and Augustus himself in the Marmora Ancyrana says, that in his sixth consulship, that is, in the year of Rome 725, be numbered the people, which had not been done for forty-two years before. The second is, that before the civil war broke out between Cæsar and Pompey, the number of the citizens amounted to no more than three hundred and twenty thousand; for long before that it was much greater, and had continued upon the increase. The last is, where it is afferted that in less than three years those three hundred and twenty thousand citizens were reduced by that war to one hundred and fifty thousand; the falfity of which affertion is evident from this, that in a little while after Cæfar made a draught of fourscore thousand to be sent to the foreign colonies. But what is still stronger is, that Augustus eighteen years after, that is, in his fixth confulship, took an account of the people, and found the number amount to four millions and fixty-three thousand. Censere civium. Romanorum capita quadragies centum millia, et sexa+ ginta tria millia. Such, an augmentation in so short a space must be prodigious, if not impossible. Rualdus has not only discovered these errours in the text, but the fource of them; he has made it appear, that Plutarch, for want of a thorough understanding of the Latin tongue, was misled by the following passage in Suetonius, who says of Cæfar, cap. iv. Recensum populi nec more nec loco solito, sed vicatim per dominos insularum egit, atque ex viginti trecentisque millibus accipientium frumentum e publico, ad centum quinquaginta retraxit. Suetonius speaks there of the review taken by Cæsar of the needy citizens, who shared in the public corn, whom he found to amount to three hundred and twenty thousand, and reduced to one hundred and fifty thousand; and Plutarch has mistaken recensum for sensum, and this errour has led him into the other mistakes.

but young, yet they had got together a very great army, and showed they had courage and conduct to command it, so that Cæsar was in extreme danger. The great decifive battle was fought near the city of Munda, in which Cæfar feeing his men hard pressed, and making but a weak resistance, ran through the ranks among the foldiers, crying out to them, Are you not ashamed to deliver your general into the hands of boys? At last, with great difficulty, and by exerting the utmost resolution, he forced back the enemy, killing thirty thousand of them upon the fpot, though with the loss of a thousand of his best men. When he came back from the fight, he told his friends, That he had often fought for victory, but this was the first time that he had ever fought for life. This battle was won on the day of the Liberalia, or festival of Bacchus *, the same day on which Pompey, four years before, had fet out for the war. The younger of Pompey's fons escaped, and Didius some days after the fight brought the head of the elder to Cæfar. This was the last bat. tle he was engaged in; and his triumphal entry on account of this victory displeased the Romans beyond any thing he had done before; for he did not triumph on the account of having defeated foreign generals, and barbarous kings, but for having ruined the children and family of one of the greatest, though most unfortunate of all the Romans; and it was not well done to triumph over the calamities of his country, and to rejoice for an advantage which he ought rather to have deplored, and for which the only apology that could be made to the gods or men, was, that he was abfolutely compelled to it by necessity. But what made this triumph still more displeasing was, that he never before sent a letter or express on account of any victory he had obtained in the course of the civil war, but seemed rather to be ashamed of the action than to claim any

^{*} The seventeenth of March.

glory for it. But, notwithstanding this, the Romans fubmitting to his fortune, gave the reins into his hands, and hoping that the government of a fingle person would give them time to breathe after so many civil wars and calamities, made him dictator for life. This was a complete tyranny; for his power now was not only absolute, but perpetual too. Cicero proposed to the senate to confer such honours upon him as were indeed in some measure within the bounds of modesty: others striving which should deserve most, carried them to so exceffive a height, that they made Cæfar odious even to the most moderate fort of men, by the haughtiness and extravagance of those titles which they de-His enemies are thought to have had fome share in this, as well as his flatterers: it gave them more advantage against him, and laid him more open to their accufations; for fince the civil wars were ended, he gave no other cause of com-And they had good reason to decree a temple to Clemency, in token of their gratitude for the mild use he made of his victories: for he not only pardoned many of those who fought against him; but to some he gave honours and offices; as particularly to Brutus and Caffius, who were both of them made prætors. Pompey's images that were thrown down, he fet up again; upon which Cicero said, that by raising Pompey's statues he had fixed When his friends advised him to have a guard, and feveral offered him their fervice, he would not hear of it, but faid, It was better to suffer death once, than always to live in fear of it. He looked upon the affections of the people to be the best and furest guard, and therefore entertained them again with public feafts, and made distributions of corn; and to gratify his army, he fent out many colonies to feveral places, of which the most remarkable were Carthage and Corinth; fo that thefe two cities which had formerly been destroyed at the fame

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fame time *, were now at the fame time rebuilt and repeopled. As to the nobles, he promifed fome that they should be confuls or prætors; others he recompensed and satisfied with other offices or titles; and to all he gave hopes of his savour, being desirous that their submission should be cheerful and voluntary. And when the conful Fabius Maximus happened to die on the very day before the expiration of his office, he named Caninius Rebilius to be conful for the remaining day. When many persons went according to custom to pay their compliments to the new conful, Cicero said, by way of raillery, Let us make haste, lest the man be gone

out of his office before we come +.

Cæfar was fo formed by nature for great actions, and had fuch an unbounded ambition, that his past exploits were fo far from inclining him to fit down and enjoy in peace the glory he derived from them, that they ferved only to stimulate him to still greater attempts, and to make him keener in the purfuit of fresh honours, as if those he had already obtained were withered and decayed. This violent paffion was a fort of jealoufy and emulation in himfelf against himself, an obstinate perseverance and endeavour to outvie his past actions by his future. In pursuit of these thoughts, he had resolved, and was preparing to make war upon the Parthians, and when he had fubdued them, to pass through Hyrcania, by the Caspian sea, and then by the Euxine sea to Mount Caucasus, till he came into Scythia: after that to over-run all the countries a-

* They had both been taken, and destroyed a hundred and two years before, Carthage by the last Scipio Africanus, and Corinth by Mummius Achaicus.

[†] There was no end of Cicero's jests upon that occasion. Sometimes he said, "We have a very vigilant consul, for he has not shut his eyes one moment since he entered into his office." At another, "This consul of ours is a magistrate of such strictness and severity, that not a person among us has dined, supped, or slept during his consulship." And at another time, "Caninius is come to that pass as to ask under what consuls he was consul."

bout Germany, and Germany itself; and at last, to return through Gaul into Italy; thus describing the spacious circle of his intended empire, and bounding it on every fide by the ocean. While preparations were making for this expedition, he attempted to dig through the ishmus of Corinth, and committed the care of that work to Anienus. He defigned also to convey the Tiber by a deep channel directly from Rome to Circæi, and so into the fea near Tarracina, that there might be a fafe and eafy paffage for all merchants who had traded to Rome. Befides this, he intended to drain all the marshes by Pomentium and Setia, by which ground enough would be gained from the water to employ many thousands of men in tillage. He proposed further to make great mounds on the shore nighest to Rome, to hinder the fea from breaking in upon the land; to cleanfe the Oftian shore of such hidden shelves and rocks as made it unsafe for shipping, and to build ports and harbours fit to receive the great number of veffels which came thither. These things were designed without taking effect.

But his reformation of the calendar, in order to rectify the irregularity of time *, was not only ingeniously contrived, but brought to perfection by him, and proved of very great use. For it was not only in ancient times that the Romans wanted a certain rule to make the revolutions of their months fall in with the course of the year, whereby their festivals and solemn days for sacrifice were removed by little and little, till at last they came to fall in with seasons quite opposite to those of their primitive institution; but even in Cæsar's days, the people had no way of computing rightly the course of the sun; the priests alone had any skill in this mat-

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^{*} For by means of this irregularity the Roman calendar had gained rear three months in the days of Cæfar. Before his time endeavours had been used to correct that inequality, but it never could be done with exactness.

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ter, and often unexpectedly added an intercalary month, which they called Mercedonius. Numa was the first who inserted this month, but his invention contributed but little to correct all the errours that rose from their computation of the year, as we have shown in his life *. Cæsar called in the best philosopher, and mathematicians of his time, to lettle this point; and though the principles upon which they proceeded were already known, yet they established a fingular and accurate computation, which the Romans use to this day; and for this reason they seem to err lefs than any other nation, in the reduction of the inequality of the lunar and tolar motions. Yet even this gave offence to those who envied Cæfar's greatness, and were weary of his power; for Cicero the orator, when fomebody happened to fay, that the next morning Lyra would rife, replied, To be fure, there is an edict for it; as if men were forced by authority to receive this new Scheme.

But that which brought upon him the most apparent and mortal hatred, was his defire of being king; this gave the common people the first occafion of complaint, and proved the most specious pretence to those who had been his fecret enemies all along. Those who would have procured him that title, gave out, that it was foretold in the Sybils books, that the Romans should conquer the Parthians when they fought against them under the conduct of a king, but not before. And one day, as Cæfar was returning from Alba to Rome, some were so bold as to falute him by the name of king; but he finding the people difrelish it, feemed to refent it himself, and said, His title was Cæfar, not king. Upon this, they forbore their acclamations, and he passed on with an air of fullenness and disfatisfaction. Another time, when the fenate had conferred on him some extravagant ho-

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^{*} See vol. 1. p. 250.

nours, he happened to receive the message as he was fitting on the rostrum, where though the consuls and prætors themselves waited on him, attended by the whole body of the fenate, he did not rife, but behaved to them as if they had been private men: his answer to them was, That his honours wanted rather to be retrenched than increased. This behaviour offended not only the fenate, but the commonalty too; for they thought the affront upon the fenate equally reflected upon the whole republic; fo that all who could decently leave him, went off much dejected. Cæsar perceiving the false step he had made, immediately retired home; and laying his throat bare, told his friends, that he was ready to present it to any man that would kill him. Afterwards he excused his sitting by his distemper, under pretence that those who are affected with it, have their fenses discomposed if they talk much standing, that they prefently grow giddy, fall into convultions, and quite lofe their reason. But all this was feigned; for he would willingly have flood up to the fenate, had not Cornelius Balbus, one of his friends, or rather flatterers, hindered him. Do not you remember, said he, that you are Cafar? and will you abate any thing of that honour which is due to you? He gave still a fresh occasion of resentment by his affront to the tribunes. The Lupercalia were then celebrated *, a feast at the first institution peculiar, as some writers say, to the shepherds, and much of the fame nature with the Arcadian Lycæa: many young noblemen and magistrates run that day up and down the city naked, striking all they meet with leathern thongs, by way of fport; women of the best quality place themselves in the way, and hold out their hands to the lash, as boys in a school do to the ferula, from an opinion that it procures an eafy labour to those who are with child, and makes

^{*} See a further account of the ceremonies observed at this festival, vol. 1. p. 139. 140.

those conceive who are barren. Cæsar dressed in a triumphal robe, feated himfelf in a golden chair upon the rostrum, to view this ceremony. Antony, as conful, was one of those who ran his course: when he came into the forum, the people made way for him, whilft he presented Cæsar with a diadem wreathed with laurel. Upon this, a found of applause was heard, which however was very feeble, as it proceeded only from a few persons placed there on purpose; but when Cæsar refused it, the applause was general. Upon the second offer, a few only clapped their hands; but on his once more refusing it, the applause was again universal. Cæsar having made this experiment of the disposition of the people, rose up, and ordered the crown to be carried into the capitol. Cæfar's statues were afterwards found with royal diadems on their heads: Flavius and Marullus, two tribunes of the people, went prefently and pulled them off; and having apprehended those who first faluted Cæsar a king, committed them to prison. The people followed them with acclamations, and called them Brutus's, because Brutus was the first who cut off the succesfion of kings, and transferred the power which before was lodged in one, into the hands of the fenate and people. Cæfar fo far refented this, that he displaced Marullus and Flavius; and at the fame time that he inveighed against them, he ridiculed the people, calling them feveral times Bruti and Cumæi *.

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^{*} The Cumens were noted for their stupidity, as Strabo observes, lib. 13. and he gives us these reasons for it. The first is, that they were three hundred years before they thought of laying a duty upon merchandise imported into their harbours, and before they found out that they inhabited a maritime city. The second is, that having mortgaged their porticoes for a certain sum of money, and failing to pay it at the time named in the contract; their creditors prohibited them from walking under them. But when the rains began to fall, those creditors being touched with some shame and remorse, caused it to be published, "that the Cumæans, if they pleased, might take shelter under their

These things made the multitude turn their eyes on Marcus Brutus, who by his father's fide was thought to be descended from that first Brutus, and by his mother's fide from the Servilii, another noble family, and who besides was nephew and sonin law to Cato. But the honours and favours he had received from Cæfar, checked him from attempting of his own accord to fubvert the monarchy; for he had not only been pardoned himself after Pompey's defeat at Pharfalia, and had procured the fame favour for many of his friends, but was one in whom Cæfar had a particular confidence. He had at that time the most honourable prætorship, and was named for the confulship four years after, being preferred before Cassius his competi-Upon the dispute between them, Cæsar said, Cassius has the fairest pretensions, but I cannot pass by Brutus. Nor did he afterwards hearken to those who accused Brutus as being engaged in a conspiracy against him; but laying his hand on his body, faid to the informers, Brutus will flay for this skin of mine; intimating, that he was worthy of empire on account of his virtue, but would not be base and ungrateful to gain it. But those who defired a change, and looked on him as the only, or at least the most proper person to effect it, durst not difcourse on the subject with him; but in the nighttime laid papers on the tribunal where he used to fit and determine causes, with sentences in them of this kind; You are afleep, Brutus; you are no longer Brutus. Caffius, when he perceived that his ambition and love of glory was in some degree roused by this, endeavoured to urge and excite him still further, having himself a private grudge against Cxfar, for fome reasons that we have mentioned in

their own porticoes;" which gave occasion to this piece of raillery, "That the Cumæans had not the sense to know that they should stand under their porticoes when it rained, till they were informed of it by the voice of the crier."

the life of Brutus. Nor was Cæsar without suspicions of him; so that he once said to his friends, What do you think Cassius aims at? I do not much like him, he looks so pale. And when it was told him, that Antony and Dolabella were in a plot against him, he said, He did not fear the sat and sleek men, but rather the pale and lean, meaning Cassius and Brutus.

Fate seems to be more easily foreseen than avoided; for there were many strange appearances and prodigies on this occasion. As to the lights in the heavens, the noises which were every where heard in the night, and the folitary birds which flew into the forum, these are not perhaps worth taking notice of in fo remarkable an event. But Strabo the philosopher tells us, that men were feen in the air all on fire encountering each other; and that a prodigious flame feemed to iffue from the hand of a foldier's fervant, infomuch that they who faw it thought he must be burnt, but that after all he had no hurt. As Cæfar was facrificing, the victim was feen to want a heart, which was a very ill omen, because a creature cannot subsist without a heart. Many add, that a foothfayer bid him beware of the Ides of March, because he was then threatened with fome great danger; and that when the day was come, Cæfar, as he went to the senate, met this foothfayer, and faid to him by way of raillery, The Ides of March are come; and he answered him softly, Yes, they are come, but they are not past. The day before, he supped with Marcus Lepidus; and as he was figning fome letters while he was at table, as he often did, there arose a dispute what fort of death was the best? At which he immediately, before any one could speak, cried out, A sudden one.

After this, as he was in bed with his wife, all the doors and windows of the chamber where he lay flew open on a fudden. He was ftartled at the noise, and at the light which broke into the room,

and by the moonshine perceived Calpurnia fast afleep, but heard her utter in a dream some indiftinct words and inarticulate groans. She fancied at that time she was weeping over Cæsar, and holding him butchered in her arms. Others, among whom is Livy, fay that this was not her dream: but that she dreamed a pinnacle * (which the senate had allowed to be raifed on Cæfar's house by way of ornament and grandeur) was brokendown, whichwas the occasion of her tears and groans. When it was day, she begged of Cæsar, if it were possible. not to ftir out, but to adjourn the fenate to another. time; and if he flighted her dreams, at least to confult his fate by facrifices, and other kinds of divination. Nor was he himself without some suspicionand fear: for he never before discovered in Calpurnia any womanish superstition, though he now faw her under fuch terrible apprehensions. Upon the report which the priests made to him, that they had killed several facrifices, and still found them inauspicious, he was resolved to fend Antony to dismiss the senate. In the mean time Decius Brutus + furnamed Albinus came in. He was one in whom Cæfar had fuch confidence that he had made him his fecond heir, though at the same time he was engaged in the conspiracy against him, with the other Brutus and Cassius. This man fearing left if Cæfar should adjourn the senate to another day, the affair might be discovered, ridiculed the diviners, and told Cæfar he would be much to blame

† Appian and Seutonius call him Decimus Brutus,

^{*} The pinnacle was a fort of ornament usually placed on the top of their temples. The Greeks called it \$\alpha_{\text{e}\tau\chi_0}\$; \$\alpha_{\text{e}\tau\chi_0}\$ and the Latins, fastigium. It was not allowed to private persons to raise such ornaments on the tops of their houses without the consent of the senate, to whom it belonged to confer public honours. Thus as a token of honour it was allowed to Poplicola to have the doors of his house open towards the street instead of opening inwards. This pinnacle was commonly adorned with some statues of their gods, figures of victory, or such other decorations as were suitable to the rank and quality of those to whom the privilege of erecling them was granted.

if he gave the fenate fo just grounds of complaint against him, by putting such a slight on them; for they are, faid he, met upon your own summons, and are ready to vote unanimously, that you shall be declared king of all the provinces out of Italy, and be allowed to wear a diadem in any other place, both by fea and land. Now, if any one should be sent to tell them they must break up for the present, and meet again when Calpurnia shall chance to have better dreams, what will your enemies. Tay ? - Or, who will with any patience hear your friends, if they shall pretend to justify you, and maintain that this is not an instance of downright servitude on the one part, and manifest tyranny on the other? But if you are so far preposessed as really to think this an unfortunate day, it will be more decent for you to go to the senate yourself, and adjourn it in your own person. Brutus, having spoke these words, took Cæsar by the hand, and conducted him forth. He was not gone far from the door, when a flave belonging to fome other perfon made towards him; but not being able to come up to him, by reason of the croud who pressed about him, he made shift to get into the house, and committed himself to Calpurnia, begging of her to secure him till Cæfar returned, because he had matters of great importance to communicate to him. Artemidorus the Cnidian, who taught the art of rhetoric in Greek, and by that means was fo well acquainted with some of Brutus's friends, that he had got intelligence of most of their transactions, brought Cæsar a paper containing an account of what he had to discover to him. But having obferved that Cæfar, as he received any papers, immediately delivered them to some of his officers who attended him, he came very near to him, and faid, Read this, Cafar, alone, and quickly; for it contains great business, and such as concerns you nearly. Cæfar received it, and attempted to read it feveral times. but was still hindered by the croud of those who came to speak to him. However he kept it in his hand

hand by itself, till he came into the senate. Some fay it was another who gave Cæfar this note, and that Artemidorus could not come up to him, being all along kept off by the croud. All these things might happen by chance. But the place where the fenate met, which was chosen for the scene of this murder, was the fame in which Pompey's statue stood, and was one of the edifices which Pompey had built and dedicated with his theatre for the use of the public; which plainly showed that there was fome deity which guided the action, and ordered it to be in that particular place. Cassius just before the action looked towards Pompey's statue, and silently implored his affiftance; though he was an Epicurean in his principles; but this occasion, and the imminent danger, shook his former notions, and made him a perfect enthusiast. As for Antony, who was firm to Cæfar, and a man of strength and resolution, Brutus Albinus * kept him without the house, and entertained him with a long difcourse contrived on purpose.

When Cæsar entered into the house, the senate stood up in respect to him. Some of Brutus's confederates came about his chair, and stood behind it; others met him, pretending to supplicate with Metillius Cimber * in behalf of his brother who was in exile; and they followed him with their joint petitions till he came to his seat. When he was seated, he rejected their petitions, and upon their urging him further, reprimanded them severally. Whereupon Metellus laying hold of his robe with both his hands, drew it off his neck, which was the signal for the assault. Casca gave him the first wound in the neck, which was not mortal, nor dangerous, as coming from one who at

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^{*} Plutarch fays in the life of Brutus, that Antony was detained without by Caius Trebonius; which agrees with Appian's account.

[†] Suetonius calls him Tullius Cimber. Perhaps his name was M. Tullius Cimber, and the transcribers changed M. Tullius into Metillius.

the beginning of fuch a bold action was probably in great agitation of mind. Cæfar immediately turned about, and laid his hand upon his dagger; and both of them at the same time cried out; he that received the blow, in Latin, Thou villain Casca! what dost thou mean? and he that gave it in Greek, addressing himself to his brother, Brother, help! Upon the first onset, those who were not privy to the defign were aftonished; and their horrour at the action was fo great, that they durft not fly, nor affift Cæfar, nor fo much as speak a word. But those who came prepared for the business, inclosed him on every fide with their naked daggers in their hands; fo that which way foever he turned, he met with wounds, and faw their fwords levelled at his face and eyes, and was affailed on allfides like a beaft taken in a toil. For it was agreed they should each of them make a thrust at him, and all partake in the facrifice; wherefore Brutus gave him one stab in the groin. Some say that he fought and refifted all the rest, moving about from one. place to another, and calling out for help; but that when he faw Brutus's fword drawn, he covered his face with his robe, and quietly furrendered himfelf, till he was pushed, either by chance, or by defign of the murderers, to the pedestal on which Pompey's statue stood, which by that means was much stained with his blood. So that Pompey himself may seem to have presided in this execution of vengeance upon his enemy, who fell at his feet, and expired from a multitude of wounds; for they fay he received three and twenty. The conspirators themselves were many of them wounded by each other, whilst they all levelled their blows at the fame person.

When Cæsar was dispatched, Brutus stood forth to give a reason for what they had been doing; but the senators, who had not the heart to stay and hear him, slew out of doors in all haste, and filled the

people.

people with fo much fear and distraction, that some thut up their houses, others left their shops and places of bufiness; all were running one way or other; fome to the place to fee the fad spectacle; others back again, after they had feen it. Antony and Lepidus, Cæfar's best friends, got off privately, and concealed themselves in some friends houses. Brutus and his followers, yet reeking from the flaughter, marched in a body from the fenate-house to the capitol with their drawn swords. not like persons who thought of escaping, but with an air of confidence and cheerfulness. As they went along, they called to the people to refume their liberty, and complimented those of better quality, as they came in their way. Some of those went along with them, and joined company with the conspirators, pretending to share in the honour of the action, as if they had borne a part in it. Of . this number was Caius Octavius, and Lentulus Spinther. However they fuffered afterwards for their vanity, being put to death by Antony and the younger Cæfar; but they loft the honour they defired, and for which they loft their lives, fince no one believed they had any share in the action; for even they who punished them, did not do it in revenge of the fact, but the will. The day after, Brutus with the rest came down from the capitol, and made a fpeech to the people, who attended to it, without expressing either any pleasure or refentment, but showed, by their deep filence, that they pitied Cæfar, and reverenced Brutus. The fenate passed an act of oblivion, and took healing measures to reconcile all parties: they ordered that Cæfar should be worshipped as a god, and that not even the least thing should be altered which he had enacted during his government: at the fame time they gave Brutus and his followers the command of provinces, and other confiderable posts: fo that all people now thought things were well fettled, and put

put into a very good posture. But when Cæsar's will was opened, and it was found that he had left a considerable legacy to each of the Roman citizens; and when his body was seen carried through the forum all mangled with wounds, the multitude could no longer contain themselves within the bounds of decency and order, but heaped together a pile of benches, doors, and tables, on which they placed the corpse, and burnt it there. Then some of them took sirebrands, and ran to burn the houses of the assassins; others went up and down the city, to find out the men themselves, and tear them in pieces; but they met with none of them, they having taken effectual care to secure themselves.

One Cinna, a friend of Cæfar's, chanced the night before to have an odd dream: he fancied that Cæfar invited him to supper; and that, upon his refufal to go with him, Cæfar took him by the hand, and forced him, though he hung back. Upon notice that Cæfar's body was burning in the forum, he got up, and went thither, out of respect to his memory, though his dream gave him fome ill apprehensions, and though he was at the same time feverish. One of the rabble who faw him there, asked another, Who that was? and having learned his name, told it to his next neighbour. A report was prefently spread through the whole multude, that he was one of Cæfar's murderers; and indeed there was one Cinna among the conspirators. The people taking this to be the man, immediately feized him, and tore him limb from limb upon the ipot.

Brutus and Caffius were fo terrified at these proceedings, that a few days after they withdrew out of the city. What they afterwards did and suffered, and how they died, is related in the life of Brutus. Cæsar died in his sifty-sixth year, not having survived Pompey much above four years. That empire and power which he had pursued

through

through the whole course of his life with so much hazard, he at last with great difficulty attained; but he reaped no other fruits from it than an empty name, and invidious title. But that happy genius, which was propitious to him during his life, feems to have adhered to him after his death. as the revenger of his murder; for it purfued and traced by fea and land all those who were concerned in it, and fuffered none to escape, but reached all who were either actually engaged in the fact, or

by their counfels any way promoted it.

The most fignal accident of any that arise from common natural causes, was that which befel Caffius; who when he was conquered at Philippi, killed himself with the same dagger which he had made use of against Cæsar. The most remarkable appearance in the heavens was a great comet *, which shone very bright for seven nights after Cæsar's death, and then disappeared. There was also a very faint light in the fun; for the orb of it was pale for the space of a year, nor did it rife with its usual brightness and vigour. Hence it gave but a feeble heat, and the air was damp and grofs for want of stronger rays to clear and rarefy it: the fruits, for that reason, were crude and unconcocted. fo that they rotted and decayed through the chilness of the air. Above all, the phantom which appeared to Brutus, showed that the murder was not pleafing to the gods. The story of it is this.

Brutus being to pass his army from Abydos to the opposite continent, laid himself down one night. as he used to do, in his tent; he was not asleep,

^{*} Pliny has preferved a paffage of Augustus, who succeeded Cæsar, wherein he fays that that comet appeared all on a fodden, whilft they were celebrating the games in honour of Cæfar: In ipfis ludorum meorum diebus sidus crinitum per septem dies in regione cœli quæ sub septentrionibus est, conspectum. Id oriebatur circa undecimam horam ciei, elarumque et omnibus terris conspicuum fuit. Eo sidere signissicari vulgus credidit Casaris animam in deorum immortalium numina receptam: quo nomine id insigne simulacro capitis ejus, quod mox in foro consecravimus, adjectum est. Plin. lib. 2. cap. 25. VOL. IV. M m

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but thinking of his affairs, and the event of the war; for he was naturally of a watchful conflitution, and no general ever required fo little fleep. He thought he heard a noise at the door of his tent; and looking that way, by the light of his lamp, which was almost extinguished, he faw a terrible figure like that of a man, but of an extraordinary bulk and grim countenance. He was somewhat frighted at first, but seeing it neither did nor fpoke any thing to him, but only flood filently by his bedfide, he asked it at last, Who it was? The spectre answered him, I am thy evil genius, Brutus, and thou shalt see me at Philippi. Brutus answered very courageously, Well, I will fee thee there; and immediately the apparition vanished. When the time was come, he drew up his army near Philippi against Antony and Cæsar, and in the first battle got the day, routed the enemy, and plundered Cæfar's camp. The night before the fecond battle, the same spectre appeared to him again, but fpoke not a word. He presently understood his death was near, and exposed himself to all the danger of the battle : yet he did not die in the fight; but feeing his men defeated, he got up to the top of a rock, and there prefenting his fword to his naked breaft, and being affifted, as they fay, by a friend, who helped him to give the thrust, died upon the fpot.

The Comparison of C & SAR with ALEX-ANDER. By M. DACIER.

THE Roman empire so plentifully abounded with virtues of all kinds, especially such as are military, that I have before me a large choice of many great commanders, and some even of his contemporaries, worthy to be put in competition with Alexander. But when Cæsar presents himself

I cannot but at the first view think him the fittest to be compared with that conquerour of Asia. And I may venture to fay, that if in my other comparifons I have myself made choice of the champions I was to bring into the lifts, in this that is now before us, I have only followed the universal consent of mankind. The general concurrence of all nations, and all ages, has pointed Cæfar out as the fittest person to be compared with Alexander, the person in whom is to be found the greatest conformity with him. Indeed there is a perfect refemblance between them in their principal features; the fame ambition, and the fame delight in war; the fame ardour and impetuofity in purfuing their defigns; the same courage and intrepidity in action; the fame generofity to those they had vanquished, and the same considence in fortune. Alexander's glory effaced that of all the Grecian commanders who had gone before him, and Cafar's infinitely excelled his predecessors among the Romans. At his approach all others were eclipsed, as when the fun first appears, all the nightly luminaries are extinguished, and, to make use of Pindar's words,

His light lays waste the whole extent of heaven.

But as in those faces where we meet with the strongest resemblances, we always find some marks of distinction; so there are in the lineaments of these two heroes some peculiar seatures that point out to us the difference that is between them. We are now to take a survey of the one and the other, and to weigh in an equal balance their virtues and their vices, that the reader may be able to judge which of them has the preference, and in which of them is to be found the most true and solid greatness.

If we consider them with respect to their birth, we shall not find the one to have any advantage o-

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wer the other. Alexander was descended from Hercules by his father's side, and from Achilles by his mother's; so that he could trace his pedigree up to Jupiter himself; and so could Cæsar too, being, as he said, descended from Venus and Anchises. But Alexander did in a manner dishonour his birth by disguising it, pretending to be the son of Jupiter, and the fruit of the commerce of that deity with his mother. Whereas Cæsar never departed from the tradition of his samily, but thought it enough to say, that the Julii were descended from Venus, and that in his samily was to be found the majesty of kings, who are above the rest of mankind, and the sanctity of the

gods on whom kings are dependent.

They were both of them exceedingly beautiful, of a lofty mien, full of sweetness and majesty. The fire that sparkled in their eyes betokened the heat and impetuofity of their courage. However, each of them had a defect in his make, which their respective historians have not forgotten. Cæsar was bald, and Alexander's head leaned on one fide. But this defect in Cæsar was at last concealed by his many victories. For they gave him a right to a laurel, crown, which he wore constantly; and that of Alexander was as it were wiped off by the flattery of his courtiers, those apes of their master, for they either effaced it, or rendered it less remarkable by their imitation of it. Alexander was formed by nature to encounter the greatest hardships; whereas Cæsar was of a weak delicate constitution, which however he strengthened by exercise, and drew even from war a remedy for his indispositions, by never sparing himself, by inuring his body to all forts of fatigues, and turning even his repose into. action. Now it is more glorious to harden and invigorate an infirm body by the mere dint of courage and labour, than to receive it robust and strong from the hands of nature.

They were both poffessed with the same spirit of ambition,

ambition, the same passion for empire and dominion. Alexander, whilst but a child, complained to his comrades of his father, who, he faid, would leave nothing for him to conquer; and Cæfar in a more advanced age, confessed to his friends, as he was passing the Alps, that he had rather be the first in a poor inconfiderable town than the fecond in Rome. And upon reading the life of Alexander one day whilst he was in Spain, he burst out into tears because he had done nothing glorious at an age wherein that prince had conquered fo many kingdoms. But in truth this passion was more proper for Alexander, who was born a king, than for Cæfar, who was by birth no more than a private. person, notwithstanding his high extraction; he was as it were hemmed in by numbers of great men. all his equals; fo that he could not think of aggrandizing himfelf without breaking down that barrier of equality, and committing the greatest acts. of injustice.

It is true that on the other fide this makes for the advantage of Cæsar. For it is not so surprising to see a prince of royal birth, and aided with all the supports which that state affords, raised to the highest pitch of greatness, as to see a private man, without any of those advantages, by his own industry raise himself to that eminence. He certainly shows himself to be the greater man who owes his advancement to himself alone, than he who is in a considerable degree obliged to his ancestors for it, who have laid the first foundations of that ad-

vancement.

As to their education, Alexander had a great advantage over Cæsar. We hear no mention of his preceptors, and are only told that he went to Rhodes to hear Apollonius Molon the philosopher; whereas Alexander had many preceptors and governours always attending him; and his father Philipsent for Aristotle, the most celebrated and learned

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of all the philosophers, to take care of his education. To this education was owing the great love he had for knowledge and learning, which made him own that he had rather excel other men in that respect, than in power and dominion. This taught him to entertain such a high value and esteem for Homer, as to declare that he envied Achilles nothing but his good fortune in having that excellent poet for the herald of his actions. And yet it may be said with great truth, that Cæsar, though he had a more ordinary education, was as great a proficient in learning as Alexander, which appeared by his many treatises, and of which his commentaries, and the high commendations he received from his contemporaries on account of his eloquence, are

testimonies still subsisting.

Alexander's first appearance in the world was with fuch a luftre, as plainly foretold the amazing brightness that was to follow. Being left regent of the realm, at the age of fixteen he reduced a nation that had rebelled, and took their capital city by af-Two years after he had the command of a wing of the army under his father Philip at the battle of Chæronea, where he broke the facred band of the Thebans. When he was twenty years old he succeeded his father in the empire; and though he found the state in a very distracted condition, the barbarous nations being ready to throw off the yoke, and Greece not accustomed to the dominion of the Macedonians, in great confusion and agitation, yet he refused to follow the advice of his friends, who counfelled him to leave Greece to herfelf, and not think of retaining her by force, and to reduce the Barbarians by gentle ufage, and apply lenitives to the distemper. Instead of these timorous expedients, he built his fecurity upon his courage and magnanimity. He marched against the Barbarians, and defeated them in a pitched battle; after which he turned his victorious arms against the I hebans,

Thebans, and established his power in Greece, by

the chastisement inflicted on the rebels.

Cæfar's beginnings were not fo illustrious. We hear nothing of him till after he was married, and the first years that succeeded his marriage do not afford any thing that can ftand in competition with the great exploits of the Macedonian, unless we should bring into the comparison his steady behaviour, though he was then but young, towards Sylla; his haughty carriage to the pirates, though he was their prisoner, and the punishment he inflicted on them after he had defeated them in their own harbour. It was indeed an argument of great refolution, not to be shocked at the menaces of a man for cruel and imperious as Sylla, and to use a parcel of lawless unrelenting pirates as if he had been their master, and not their prisoner. Besides, Cæsar must even in his youth have promifed fomething very great: and formidable, fince Sylla faid that in that boy he discovered many Marius's. But is this dawn comparable to that of Alexander, in which he rendered himself master of Greece, reduced Thrace and Illyria, and fubdued the Triballi and Mæsians?

The expedients they both made use of in order to compass their ends, and attain their greatness, place them in very different lights. Alexander's procedure was full of honour, candour, and sincerity; that of Cæsar was made up of meanness, fraud, and artistice. He dishonourably made his court to the people; proposed many seditious laws to gain their favour; advanced to the office of tribune the most infamous of mankind, and practised a scandalous traffic of marriages in order to carry

on his defigns.

Policy is an art peculiarly belonging to princes and statesmen. That of Cæsar was deep, and refined. He at the same time solicited for the consulship and a triumph; but as the laws disqualified him from the first whilst he remained with his troops

at the gates of the city, after having demanded a privilege which was refused him, he dropped his pretensions to the triumph, entered Rome, and put up for the confulship, like a true politician preferring that which was more fure and profitable, to that which was more glaring and oftentatious. He reconciled Pompey and Craffus, by which he fecured to himself the power and interest of them both. So that an action which outwardly feemed to be full of humanity, put him in a condition to overturn the government. He defeated his enemies by the arms of his citizens, and bought his citizens with the wealth of his enemies. There is nothing of this kind in Alexander that may be compared with it; but that is for his honour; for policy is never commendable, but when it is employed by

There was one instance of policy in Cæsar worthy of commendation. After he had overthrown the Helvetians in a general engagement, he recalled those that had escaped from the battle to the number of a hundred thousand and upwards, and forced them to return into their own country, and rebuild the cities they had destroyed. This he did to prevent the Germans who might have been tempted by the goodness of the country, to pass the Rhine, and settle in those parts, which would have been of dangerous consequences to the

Romans.

But is not Alexander to be commended for his policy, when, for the better maintaining and fecuring his power during his absence in remote parts, he took thirty thousand children of the principal families in Persia, to be educated in the learning of Greece, and instructed in the Macedonian exercises? by this means affuring himself of the fidelity of the parents, and affection of the children, who besides from hostages would in time become soldiers.

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His marriage with Roxana, and afterwards with Darius's daughter, as also the marriage of the principal officers of his court to the daughters of the greatest men in Persia, which was celebrated with so much magnificence, may be looked on as the effect of great prudence; for he thereby joined in bands of the closest alliance, two of the most powerful nations upon earth. Unless it may be said that pleasure, and the allurements of great and magnificent feasts, accompanied with love and dissolute revelling, which had already got the better of his continence, had a larger share than policy in that union.

As for their warlike actions, by which they are particularly characterised, it is easy to draw a comparison between them, but it is not so easy to determine which has the advantage; this must be the work of the most consummate and experienced commander. We will endeavour to propose that which

to us feems the most obvious.

Many things are requisite to the forming a great general. For without reckoning up the qualifications of the body, he ought to have prudence to undertake wifely, to lay his defigns deeply, and for to apply his expedients as to execute them fuccessfully. He ought to know what places are proper for encampments; how to form an army according to the nature of the ground, the difference of conjunctures, and the disposition of the enemy, so as to deprive him of all possible advantages, and fecure them to himself. He ought artfully to conceal his own schemes, and penetrate into those of the enemy, or, as Plato fays from Homer, to steal from him his resolutions, his designs, and all his enterprifes. He must have the foresight to secure his convoys, and prevent their falling into ambuscades; courage and boldness in execution; a vivacity in profiting from all conjunctures, and feeing with the cast of an eye, and instantly amending any disorder

that

that may arise in the heat of action, which otherwise may discompose measures the most prudent, and best concerted; but above all this he must have a cool head, and solid judgment, that can never be disturbed in the midst of the greatest dangers.

All these qualifications appear in a high degree both in Cæsar and Alexander; though the latter trusted more to fortune, who has a great influence upon all human affairs, and exerts her power no where with so much insolence, as in military un-

dertakings.

After his essay against the Thebans, and actions that would do honour to the most renowned commanders, he undertook his expedition into Asia, with means no way proportioned to the greatness of the enterprise. He set out with an army consisting of no more than thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse, and a fund of two hundred talents. With this fund, and this army, was he to encounter with Darius, who could raise millions of men, and had immense treasures to maintain them.

Imagination frartles at the boldness of this enterprife, and is altonished and transported at the manner in which it was executed. What can be more wonderful than his passage over the Granicus? Alexander there looks more like one possessed, than a man of fense and reason. To behold him in the middle of the flood, often borne down, and buried in the waters, one would think one faw Achilles struggling with the boisterous waves of the Scamander and Simois. At last, after infinite hazards, and through the midst of a shower of darts, he reached the opposite bank, where he engaged the enemy, and obtained a fignal victory. Sardis, and several other cities, are the fruits of that victory. Miletus and Halicarnassus he takes by force; he reduces the Pisidians who had revolted, and passes

like a torrent through Paphlagonia and Cappadocia. He advances against Darius into Syria, where he gains a fecond victory, which was chiefly owing to his conduct, and the excellent disposition of his forces. After this he lays siege to Tyre, during which he makes an incursion into Arabia. And when he had reduced the place, which employed him feven months, and cost him infinite labour, he fits down before Gaza the capital of Syria, and makes himself master of that. From thence he marches into Egypt to confult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, where he meets with innumerable difficulties that were thought infurmountable. his return into Phœnicia he marches against Darius, who was come down with an army of a million of men, and defeats him in a pitched battle, which makes him mafter of Babylon and the whole Perfian empire.

To these famous exploits of Alexander we may oppose those performed by Cæsar in Spain, where he subdued nations that till then had never paid any obedience to the Romans: and we may give the preference to his glorious campaigns against the Tigurians, the Helvetians, the Germans, and the Belgæ, in which he totally subdued Gaul, took by assault above eight hundred towns, conquered three hundred nations, fought in different engagements against three millions of enemies, cut in pieces above one million, made another million prisoners, ended two important wars in one campaign, and choked up the lakes and rivers with the bodies of

the flain.

With Alexander's passage over the Granicus, and his contention with the waves, may be opposed that exploit of Cæsar, who in the war of Alexandria ran a much greater risk, when he jumped into a skiff to go to the assistance of his troops that were hardly pressed at the attack of Pharos, and threw himself afterwards into the sea to swim to his ships which

which were a great way off, though he was exposed all the while to the enemies darts and javelins. He was the first Roman that ever passed the Rhine at the head of an army; and though he passed it on a bridge, it was a bridge which was contrived and perfected in the space of ten days, and was for that reason the astonishment and admiration of the whole world. And what is still more surprising, this whole expedition was the business of no

more than eighteen days.

To the boldness of Alexander's expedition into the Indies, we may oppose that of Cæsar into Britain. Alexander therein satisfied the ambition he always had of pushing his conquests to the extremity of the world, and had the satisfaction of sailing some surpose upon the Eastern ocean. But Cæsar was the first Roman that penetrated with his army as far as to the Western ocean, and embarked his troops on the Atlantic sea, carried the war into an island of which many doubted the very existence, and so extended the bounds of the Roman empire beyond the limits of the habitable world.

Alexander found a greater difficulty in conquering Porus who had only twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, than in conquering Darius with his innumerable armies; and the victory Alexander obtained over him, wherein he took him prisoner, redounded more to his glory than all his

exploits against the Persians.

And yet this victory is not to be compared either with that obtained by Cæfar over Ariovistus, or that other wherein he defeated the Nervii, the most warlike of the Belgæ. Nor will it stand in competition with his exploits against Ambiorix, who taking the advantage of his absence fell upon Cotta and Titurius Sabinus in their quarters, and afterwards marched at the head of fixty thousand men to attack Cicero in his. Cæsær slew to his re-

lief.

lief, with only feven thousand men under his command. But what he wanted in strength was supplied by conduct. He increased the presumption of the Barbarians by a seigned fear, till he had decoyed them on to his entrenchments, which they had the boldness to attack in an undisciplined disorderly manner, natural to those whose considence is augmented by a thorough contempt of the enemy; then he fell on them, and made a horrible

flaughter.

Neither will this engagement with Porus counterbalance that of Cæfar against Vercingetorix, who had raised against the Romans a war more terrible than any they had been engaged in before, and who marched down at the head of many confederated nations united together by the most solemn vows, and equally formidable for their courage and numbers. Cæsar in the midst of a severe winter, with an expedition incredible even in a courier, marches against them, lays their country waste, and storms their city. They attack him in his march, and encompass him on every side; notwithstanding which, he bravely stands the shock, and, after a very obstinate resistance, defeats them, and forces them to sly into Alexia.

The fiege of Tyre, which Alexander took by affault, that of Gaza, which he took in the fame manner after he had been wounded in an attack, those of the rock of Sisimethres, and the town of the Mallians, are not all together to be put in the balance against the single siege of Alexia, to which place Vercingetorix was purfued by Cæfar after his overthrow. Never was general engaged in a more difficult affair, or exposed to greater dangers. I here were feventy thousand foldiers in the town, and three hundred thousand of the bravest men in Gaul marching to their relief; fo that Cæsar found himself shut in between two numerous armies. His address, his good sense and courage drew him out VOL. IV. Nn

of that terrible fituation. He overthrew that prodigious multitude, forced Vercingetorix to furrender

Alexia, and throw himself at his feet.

Alexander has nothing to oppose to this fingle action of Cæfar's, nor to his conduct in the war of Alexandria, where he had a strong town, and a powerful army, to contend with at the fame time. And that which rendered his fituation the more dangerous, was his want of water; and at the same time he was obliged to fet fire to his fleet, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy. He furmounted all these difficulties by his great courage and capacity. He forced the king of Egypt to retire to his troops, attacked him in his camp, defeated him with a very great flaughter, obliged him to fly for his fafety, and fo put a glorious end to that war, if a war undertaken in behalf of a woman can ever be faid to be ended glorioufly.

The battle gained by Cæsar in Pontus against Pharnaces, who had defeated Domitius Calvinus, and taken Bithynia and Cappadocia from the Romans; his exploits in Spain against Pompey's lieutenants, Afranius and Varro, whom he stripped both of their troops and camps, may be parallelled with any two of Alexander's most glorious per-

formances in Afia.

But I question if in all Alexander's exploits there can one be found to match the overthrow of Pompey in the plains of Pharsalia, or that of Scipio in Africa, where Cæsar in a few hours made himself master of three camps, and killed sifty thousand men, or the defeat of Pompey's sons under the walls of Munda, where Cæsar slew no less than thirty thousand men upon the spot, and owed his victory chiefly to his own valour and the example he gave his soldiers.

It may be faid in favour of Alexander, that he was always victorious; whereas Cæfar was fome-

times

times defeated. But besides that a general is not to be reproached for any loss that is repaired almost as foon as received, this very thing turns to the advantage of Cæfar. For what idea must we conceive of troops that were able to beat Cæfar? and what glory must it be at last to conquer those troops? Besides, Alexander died young, in the full course of his prosperities, before fortune had time to think of turning the tide. If he had lived longer, he might possibly have met with a reverse; for what man is there, who in the whole course of a long life ever found her constant in her favours? Did not long life expose the great Cyrus to a cruel reverse? and did it not do the same by Pompey? without mentioning many other great kings and commanders, who have been striking instances of the viciflitude of human affairs.

But it may likewise be said, that the premature death of Alexander takes off and lessens the advantages Cæsar has over him on account of his many victories. It is not reasonable to compare the sum total of a long life with that of a short one, which passed quick like a slash of lightning If Alexander had lived as long as Cæsar, he might possibly have been beaten as Cæsar was; but he might likewise have performed as many great actions as Cæsar

far, and have excelled even himfelf.

That which gives Cæsar an incontestable advantage over his rival, is the quality of the enemies they both had to encounter. Alexander had seldom or never any that made head against him, but such as sted almost before they had charged, and who were not so properly to be called enemies as a booty that might be seized without any difficulty; whereas Cæsar had always to do with men nursed in war, and who chose rather to be hacked in pieces than quit their posts. It was easier for Alexander to run over, or drive whole provinces before him, than for Cæsar to gain an inch of ground.

N n 2 Besides.

Befides, Cæsar had not only those sierce and warlike Barbarians to oppose him; but had to do with Roman generals of the greatest reputation, and with Roman armies; that is, with officers and soldiers who had triumphed over the greatest part of the universe.

But if we are to measure their exploits not so much by the greatness of them, and the difficulties that attended them, as by the benefits that flowed from them, and the motives that produced them,

we shall find the balance pretty even.

An enemy terrible for courage, fierceness, and numbers, arms against Rome. Cæsar delivers her from all those dangers, which appeared to her so great, that even the priests, and old men, who otherwise were exempted from the wars, lost their immunities in case of a war with the Gauls. All the temples were crouded, and the senate ordained public prayers and processions for fifteen days together in thanksgiving to the gods, which had never been done before on account of any victory whatever.

Alexander's first exploits were equally profitable to his country; for he secured Macedonia against any insults from her neighbours. But when that was done, he pursued remote conquests; forgot the chief duty of a prince, which is the care of his people; drained Macedonia of her men and treassure, and gave occasion to those divisions, which in the end tore her in pieces. Cæsar likewise by the civil wars spoiled all the fruits of his first exploits, and involved Rome in greater terrours than those from which he had before delivered her.

As for the motives, which are the foul of actions; and by which wife men have at all times measured the merits of them, Alexander in that particular appears much superiour to Cæsar. If he undertook the conquest of Asia, it was in revenge of the ravages committed upon Greece by the Barbarians:

If he laboured to bring all into fubjection, it was not to enflave mankind, but to make them happier. This character prevails in all his actions; he had no sooner overthrown Darius, and found himself at: the head of the Persian empire, but Greece received the first fruits of his victories. His chief care was to abolish the tyrannies, and restore to all the cities their ancient rights and privileges. It may be faid, in answer to this, that Cæsar likewise enfranchised the Theffalians after the battle of Pharfalia: that he restored the Cnidians to their liberty, and eased the inhabitants of Asia of a third part of their taxes. But this character is not uniform, nor well fupported; for in all his other actions he feems to be a perfect stranger to it. He sacrifices every thing to his ambition, and breaks through all the ties of honour and justice to gratify it. He looks with pleasure on Catiline and his accomplices, whilst they are upon the point of overturning the empire by the revolt of nations and by foreign wars, and of laying Rome itself in ashes. He watches to make his advantage of those troubles and that conflagration, that he may reign absolute in a desolate city reduced to ashes. In vain did the small remains of natural reason, which inwardly condemns all forts of transgressions, fill his foul with agitation and horrour, when he was upon the point of paffing the Rubicon in order to render himself master of Italy: The thirst of power got the better of all those remonstrances, and in spite of his remorfe, he hurries blindly into an undertaking that was unavoidably to produce fo many calamities. There was not one Roman throughout the empire whom he did not injure in the highest degree; for he robbed him of his liberty, which is the greatest bleffing of mankind. The character of tyrant was fo deeply rooted in him, that notwithstanding that gentleness of behaviour with which he endeavoured to disguise it, even then when he seemed to be ren-Nn3

dering his country the most important services by his fuccessful undertakings, at that time was he endeavouring and contriving to bring her into subjection. He exercises himself against his enemies only that he may know how to subdue and enslave his fellow-subjects. His very offers and proposals for an accommodation, though they outwardly appeared so just and reasonable, were in truth no better than so many baits laid to amuse and decoy his rival. In short, Cæsar seemed to have been born for the destruction, and Alexander for the happiness of mankind.

In the character of their courage there is an effential difference which gives Alexander infinitely the advantage over Cæsar. In all the performances of Cæsar we see the great man, but still it is man; there is nothing in them above the reach of human power. Whereas in the great actions performed by Alexander, one can distinguish as it were some rays of divinity. His attempts were fitter for a god than a mortal, and yet he executes them; like Achilles, he proves the truth of Homer's definition of valour, who says that it is a divine inspiration, and that some god takes possession of the man for a time, and acts within him. Cæsar claims our esteem, but Alexander forces our admiration.

This air of divinity is not only perceived in his military operations, but is blended likewise in his civil actions. Upon his setting out for Asia he gave all he had to his friends, reserving only hope for himself. After his conquests, those princes who had been conquered by him, or submitted to him, received from him dominions larger than they had lost, and parted from him loaden with presents. Every thing that came near him selt the effects of his bounty and magnificence. Alexander bestowed not like a king, but like the master of the universe.

Cæsar's bounty is a mercenary bounty; he does not give, but buys at a great price the people's votes

and interests. Whereas the bounty of Alexander slows from a beneficence natural to him; like that of the gods, it aims only at the pleasure and glory

of bestowing.

Cæsar heaped up great treasures, which he kept in reserve, that he might be able in due time to reward that valour that should be serviceable to his purposes. But Alexander was not satisfied with rewarding magnificently those that served him; he carried his gratitude further, and continued to the children of such as had died in his service the pay of their fathers, the memory of whose brave actions he thus transmitted to posterity, and proposed them

as examples for their imitation.

This greatness of foul breaks forth even in his most familiar discourses. When Parmenio advised him to accept of Darius's offers, and told him, that he would if he was Alexander: And so would I, replied Alexander very brifkly, if I was Parmenio. When his friends preffed him not to attack Darius but in the night-time, that he might conceal from his troops the prodigious numbers with which they were to engage, he replied, I will not steal a victory. When Parmenio expressed his astonishment at his being able to fleep fo foundly and calmly the night before the battle; What, replied Alexander, doft thou not think we have already conquered, now we have stopped the flight of the enemy, and brought him to engage us? There is a fublime in this simplicity. which nothing can equal. Here Alexander is as much Alexander as he is in the greatest of his ac-

Those sayings of Cæsar that have been preserved, contain nothing in them so great and noble, unless we except his speech to the pilot, who, amazed at the danger he was in, and unable to stem the tide, was for turning back; Be bold, said he, and fear nothing, thou carriest Cæsar and his fortune. He would have had the considence in his fortune to outweigh

with the pilot the terrors of an inftant death, with which he was threatened. This faying was the argument of a great mind, but perhaps it should have been justified by the success, to have appeared as

great as those of Alexander.

Alexander transfused this greatness of mind into his troops; his soldiers thought themselves more than men whilst they were fighting under him. It is true, that in this respect Cæsar had the same advantage with Alexander. His soldiers, who under other commanders performed nothing more than other men, became under him invincible heroes. And yet both the one and the other have sometimes been exposed to the murmurs, and experienced the despondency of their troops; but they both knew how to animate them, and to bring them back to their duty by the same means, and with the same magnanimity.

There was a strong resemblance between them in several moral qualities; they showed the same frugality in their way of living, and the same zeal and attachment for their friends. But Alexander never gave so high an instance of his attention to friends as Cæsar did; when being forced by a violent storm to a poor hovel, in which there was but one room, and that hardly big enough to hold one man, he quitted it to one of his friends that happened to be sick, and lay himself under the penthouse. Alexander interested himself in behalf of his friends, but Cæsar suffered inconveniencies for

the fake of his.

They have both of them been commended for their clemency and humanity, of which it is certain they gave extraordinary inflances on many occafions. Alexander pardoned the Athenians who had received the Thebans into their city; and Cafar pardoned the officers in Pompey's army, who were taken prisoners in the battle of Pharsalia. Alexander coming up to Darius the moment after he had

had expired, was fenfibly touched at the fight of that unhappy prince, and fincerely lamented his misfortunes. And when the head of Pompey was prefented to Cæfar, he turned away his eyes, and burft into tears. And yet both the one and the other were guilty of actions that were cruel and inhuman. Cæfar put to death feveral persons of consular and prætorian dignity, who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Thapfus; and Alexander at his first arrival in Asia ordered his soldiers to put every man to the fword without distinction. But Cæsar was the most to be blamed; for his cruelty was exercised upon conquered enemies, from whom he had nothing to fear; whereas those against whom Alexander gave fuch directions were as yet unconquered, and had their arms in their hands. It is true, the cruelty he showed in the facking of Thebes, was useless; but the forrow he afterwards expressed, and the bitter remorfe he felt for that barbarity, plead for a pardon. The fame may be faid of the murder of Clitus, the ignominy of which was effaced by his grief and despair. Besides, that murder was committed in the transports of a violent paffion, aggravated, and inflamed by wine.

We cannot make the same excuse for the punishment of Philotas, that of Callisthenes, or the death of Parmenio, whom he ordered to be stain in Media after all the great services he had performed for him. These cruelties committed in cold blood upon slight accusations without any proofs, will remain as indelible blots upon his character and me-

mory.

His breach of faith in putting a whole garrison to the sword, after they had surrendered upon articles, is still more infamous. Never were any of Cæsar's exploits blasted with such treachery: unless we place in the same light that which he was guilty of in his march against the Germans, of whom he slew three hundred thousand, notwithstanding the

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peace that subsisted betwixt them and the Romans. But this action was justified by all the Romans, who returned their thanks to the gods for it; whereas that of Alexander was never excused by a-

ny one.

Alexander, misled by the glaring show of Achilles's valour, made choice of that hero for his imitation, and without diffinguishing between what was truly great, and what was barbarous and brutal in his character, imitated him in the most faulty parts of it. To this pernicious imitation we are to impute the barbarity he exercised upon the Cusfæans, when he flaughtered them all, men, women, and children, in his forrow for the death of Hephæstion, calling that horrible butchery a facrifice to his departed friend. He unfuckily remembered that Achilles had facrificed feveral Trojan princes upon the tomb of Patroclus, and forgot that the poet's relation of that inhumanity includes in it a condemnation of it. He did not reflect how much his barbarity exceeded that of the fierce and implacable Achilles. Patroclus had been flain by a Troian, but the Custans were innocent of the death of Hephæstion. Cæsar never ran into such barbarous excesses.

On the other hand, none of Cæsar's most celebrated victories can be compared with that glorious conquest which Alexander obtained over himself, when having in his power the wife and daughters of Darius, he listened to wisdom only and reason. They were in his camp as in a holy temple, honoured and served with all the respect due to their dig-

nity and their virtue.

Never therefore did any prince receive a greater encomium than Alexander did from the mouth of Darius, when after his defeat he befought the gods, that if it was their pleasure to put an end to the empire of the Persians, that no one but Alexander might sit upon the throne of Cyrus; and afterwards

when he was just expiring, he gave him the tenderest marks of affection and acknowledgment, and died praying the gods to recompense Alexander for the humanity, indulgence, and generofity shown by him to that which was the dearest to him of all things in the world. This testimony given him by a dying enemy, will be more valued by a wife man than all the monuments raised to Cæsar's glory; a

testimony fingly worth all Cæsar's triumphs.

Cæfar can by no means be compared with Alexander on the score of chastity. What comparison can there be between a man fo infamous for his incontinence, as to be called in full senate, The bufband of every woman, and the wife of every man, with a prince, who was the perfect model of modesty and virtue! It is true, the tincture Alexander had received in his education did not preserve its force and beauty to the end, but by degrees faded and died. He fell at last into irregularities, and was not proof against a detestable vice for which he had always before expressed an abhorrence. But this may be charged upon his long commerce with the Barbarians, the most effeminate and dissolute of mankind.

Sobriety is a virtue requifite in all men, but indispensable in a prince. The vice opposite to it plunges them into diforders, which, without reckoning the mischiefs they occasion, degrade them, and make them unworthy the high rank they bear in the world. Here justice and injustice lose their diftinctions, and a man is led by no other guide but his unruly passions. Alexander loved to fit long at table without being addicted to wine; but in the latter part of his life he wallowed in excesses that difgraced him. He fet fire to the palace of Perfepolis at the infligation of a harlot in one of his debauches, and murdered Clitus in another. on the other hand kept himself always sober, even by the confession of his enemies. Cato said of him, that he was the only one noted for his sobriety that ever

undertook to overturn the government.

The robe of the Barbarians which Alexander wore, and that mixture he introduced of the Perfian customs with those of the Macedonians, might be justified by some politic views, if it did not appear that vanity was at the bottom, and if it was not always thought dishonourable for the conquerour to stoop to, and follow the customs of the vanquished. But perhaps this forgetfulness of himself may be attributed to the excess of his prosperity. Where shall we find a young victorious prince capable of resisting the constant favours of fortune,

always courting, always careffing him?

The Bacchanalian life he led in Carmania, where for feven days together he marched in fuch a diffolute licentious manner, as was fit only for those that celebrate the orgies of Bacchus, is a dishonour to that expedition. Cæfar led fuch another in Theffaly, which he marched through at the head of his army wallowing in wine and debauch. Both the one and the other may possibly be excused, from the great scarcity they had just suffered in their former marches. Who knows not how difficult it is to keep troops within bounds, who, after fuffering a long and painful famine, fall on a fudden into rich and plentiful quarters? But Cæfar's army is still the more excusable, as his men found in their debauch a remedy for the contagious diftemper with which they were afflicted.

We often find in the greatest men a mixture of grandeur and meanness, at which those who do not well consider the infirmity of human nature, would be astonished. Alexander is not satisfied with that true and substantial reputation, which he might justly expect from posterity on account of his great exploits, but he is for imposing on the world by salse appearances. He causes to be made arms of an extraordinary size, mangers for his horses high-

er, and the bits of his bridles heavier than ordinary, which he scatters up and down in the plains of the Ganges, on purpose to excite a greater admiration of him in future generations. Cæfar never let slip from him the least instance of such a vanity, or rather of fuch a weakness. So far was he from adding to his reputation by a falfity, that he would not fo much as contradict a falfity that had been raifed to lessen his reputation. The Arverni showed in one of their temples a fword, which they had caufed to be hung up there, as a spoil taken from Cæfar, and they continue to show it to this very day. Once in his paffage through the country he was earried to fee that fword, and his friends preffed him to have it removed, as a memorial that disparaged him'; but he only laughed; and confidering it as a thing confecrated, he left it where he found it, building his glory on the merit of his exploits.

True courage does not appear only in the operations of war; there are other instances, wherein the terrour may feem lefs, but the danger is greater; and which therefore require a more firm and determined courage. Of this fort Cæfar has nothing wherein he may be compared to Alexander, who, when in a dangerous fit of fickness he was informed by a letter from Parmenio that his physician had been bribed to poison him, received with one hand the dose that had been prepared for him, and with the other delivered to the physician the letter wherein he was accused of the parricide, and whilst he was reading it swallowed the medicine without hefitation, and without showing the least token of suspicion or uneafiness. Perhaps policy, always timorous and diftruftful, will charge this action with imprudence, but heroism will find such marks in it

as to acknowledge it for her own.

Cæsar's ambition was to get himself declared king by a people who had an invincible aversion to Vol. IV.

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monarchy, and that of Alexander was to have the people own him for a god. The ambition of the one was unjust, and that of the other impious. But there is this difference between them; Cæfar would have been declared king, after he had involved the flate in innumerable calamities, and Alexander would have paffed for a god after all the world had been fensible of his beneficence. He scattered around him light and happiness where-ever he went, and wherefoever he conquered; they only who had not a fight of him remained in darkness, like those who are deprived of the light of the fun-One of them showed himself unworthy to be a king by the miferies he had occasioned, and the other feemed a god by the benefits he had procured.

If we examine them with respect to religion, which is the foundation of morality, we shall find Alexander's opinions of the divinity were found enough: which may be owing to his converse with the greatest philosophers, to whom he always showed an affectionate regard. He constantly began his expeditions with a facrifice, and never failed to return thanks to the gods for any fuccess they had granted him. To this religious principle was owing the respect he ever showed to priests and fanctuaries. Crefar did not appear so well infiructed, nor so devout. He performed facrifices on important occasions, and purified his troops: but this feemed in him to be done more out of custom than devotion, and he was more solicitous to confult the gods than to return his thankfgivings. That wherein they both agreed was an art of eluding the presages when they were not favourable, or elfe of laughing at them, or by fome turn of wit construing them to their own advantage. The only difference between them in this point was. that Cæfar was always the fame; whereas Alexan-

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der fell into a most horrible superstition, always more injurious to the divinity than irreligion itself, as we have shown elsewhere.

However it appeared by the miracles the gods wrought in favour of Alexander, that Providence particularly watched over him. The wonderful rain that fell all on a fudden whilft he was traverfing the deferts in order to confult the oracle of Ammon, and which both refreshed his army that was ready to die for thirst, and at the same time delivered it from the danger of being buried in those heaps of moving sand raised by the south wind like so many mountainous waves, and the crows which guided them by their slight in the day-time, and by their croaking in the night, are manifest evidences of this providence. The gods never showed any thing like it in behalf of Cæsar.

It is the diffinguishing quality of the ambitious person to count for nothing what is past, to be confantly aiming to furmount that which is the highest, and, when there is no other rival left, to turn a rival to, and labour to furpass himself. Such was the ambition of Cæfar and Alexander. This last, after he had pushed his conquests even as far as to the rifing fun, thought of embarking on the Euphrates, of failing round the fouth fea, and entering by Hercules's pillars into the Mediterranean, and thus of fubduing the fouth as he had already done the east. And Cæsar not content withhis conquests, which reached on one side to the Euphrates, and on the other beyond the Atlantic ocean, was preparing to make an expedition against the Parthians, to traverse Hyrcania, and marching by the fide of Mount Caucasus, and the Caspian fea, to enter into Scythia, and proceeding forwards, to fubdue the nations bordering on Germany, and finally Germany itself, and to return from thence

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to Rome, after having thus delineated the spacious circle of the Roman empire, and given it on every fide the ocean for its boundary. And at the same time that he was busied in these preparations, he gave orders for several prodigious works designed for the glory and accommodation of Rome. Can the whole world show two other instances of such prodigious ambition? But death, which laughs at all human designs, interposed, and overturned their mighty projects.

They resembled one another in their deaths, which were severally preceded by signs and admonitions. Alexander is warned by the Chaldeans not to enter Babylon; he despises the warning, enters, and returns to his camp, and then laughs at the prediction. The Chaldeans assure him the menace still hung over him, and that Babylon would be fatal to him; he returns thither, and

there he dies.

Cæfar in like manner is advised by a soothsayer to beware of the ides of March. When the day was come, he laughed at the foothfayer, telling him, The ides of March were come; Yes, replied the prophet, but they are not past; and that very day he was murdered. But if they resembled one another in their deaths, as they were both forewarned by prodigies, they differed very much in the manner of their respective deaths, and the circumstances attending them. Alexander died in his bed of a fickness owing to an immoderate debauch, and was regretted and lamented by the Persians as well as Macedonians; whereas Cæfar was stabbed in full senate by those he had honoured with his favour and benevolence, and the murderers were for fome time looked on by the Romans as their deliverers; they decreed them the highest honours, and the most considerable provinces. Alexander by his actions forced even his enemies to love and admire him,

him, whereas Cafar drew on himfelf the envy and hatred of his fellow-citizens. As he had made himfelf a tyrant, he came to a violent end, dying the

death of a tyrant.

Livy thought it not unbecoming him to interrupt the thread of his history, by examining what might have been the fortune of Alexander, if instead of marching against the Barbarians he had turned his. arms against Italy. I think it less foreign to the defign of this comparison, to inquire in this place which would be most advantageous to a state to have an Alexander for their general, or a Cæfar, confidering them only in their military and political

capacities.

Alexander's actions carry a lustre with them that dazzles the eye; his enthusiastic valour transports the reader, as he was transported with it himself. In Cæfar's we find more of fatety, and fedateness. To follow Alexander, is to be in perpetual alarms. and apprehensions for him. If we follow Cæfar. his wisdom and experience quiet us, his conduct inspires us with more confidence, than the dangers, to which we fee him expose himself, do with terrour. A transport of courage is not always the furest guide; it is often a blind impetuosity, the fource of temerity; and temerity in the long run must be unfortunate. Nothing can be more dangerous for a state than to have their general trust to miracles; for miracles are not always certain, but, as Aristophanes says, the gods will grow weary of conducting the rash and inconsiderate, who make an ill use of their affistance. If Alexander had been worsted in any one engagement, he: would have been fo for the whole war, without ever being able to recover himself again. Whereas Cæfar when beaten found in himself fresh supplies, and was fure to conquer the conquerours. For as it

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is the effential quality of indifcration to turn even good fortune into bad, prudence on the contrary draws good out of evil, and is the mother of fuccess. If fortune is sometimes pleased to exert her power against her, she is foiled at last, and forced to submit.

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